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MEMORIAL DE SAINTE HÉLÈNE.

JOURNAL

OF THE

PRIVATE LIFE

AND

CONVERSATIONS

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT SAINT HELENA

BY

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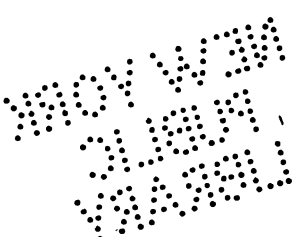

CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND PART OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

CONTINUANCE OF OUR ABODE AT BRIARS.

Page

ORIGIN of Guides—Another danger incurred by Napoleon —The German officer. 1

War—Principles—Application—Opinions on several Generals 4

Situation of the Spanish Princes at Valencey—The Pope at Fontainebleau—Reflections, &c. 10

On the Nouvelle Heloïse, and on Love 12

The English Lieutenant—A singular circumstance—Departure for Longwood determined on—State of France —Memorial in justification of Ney 15

ESTABLISHMENT AT LONGWOOD.

Removal to Longwood—Description of the Road—Taking possession—The Emperor's first Bath, &c. 23

Description of Longwood—Details 28

Arrangement of the Emperor's establishment—Feelings of the Captives with respect to each other—Traits of the Emperor's character—Portrait of Napoleon. by M. De Pradt, translated from an English Newspaper—Its refutation 32

My situation materially improved — My bed-chamber changed, &c. 44

Habits and hours of the Emperor—His style to the two Empresses—Details—The Emperor's maxims on the subject of the Police—Secret Police for the examination of Letters—Curious particulars—The Emperor favourable to a fixed and moderate system of Government . . . 45

The Emperor's first ride on horseback—Severity of the Ministerial Instructions—Our vexations and complaints —The Emperor's remarks—Rude replies 56

Page

The Emperor's disdain of popularity, his reasons, arguments, &c.—Conversation respecting my Wife—On General Gourgaud's Mother and Sister 60
The Emperor frequently wounded in his Campaigns—The Cossacks—"Jerusalem Delivered" 66
My conversation with an Englishman 69
On the French Emigrants — Kindness shewn them by the English—Resources of the Emigrants 72
Difficult Excursion—Ride to the Valley—The Marsh—Characteristic Traits—Englishmen undeceived—Poison of Mithridates 80
The Emperor ploughing—The Widow's Mite—Interview with the Admiral—New arrangements—The Polish Captain Piontkowski 87
Lieutenant-Governor Skelton 91
New-year's-day — Fowling-pieces, &c.—Colonel Wilks's family . . . . . ib.
Life at Longwood — The Emperor's ride on horseback—Our Nymph—Nicknames—On Islands and the defence of them—Great fortresses; Gibraltar—Cultivation and Laws of the Island—Enthusiasm, &c. 95
Vexatious treatment of the Emperor—Fresh misunderstandings with the Admiral 103
Marchand's room—Linen, Garments, &c., of the Emperor —Spurs of Champaubert, &c. 108
Admiral Taylor, &c. 112
The Emperor aimed at by a Soldier—Our evening amusements—Novels—Political sally 113
On the Secret History of the Cabinet of Bonaparte, by Goldsmith—Details, &c. 116
The Emperor resolves to learn English, &c. 122
First English Lesson, &c. 124
Our daily habits — Conversation with Governor Wilks—Armies — Chemistry — Politics — Remarks on India—*Delphine*, by Mad. de Staël—Necker—Calonne 125
My new lodging described—Morning visit, &c. 133
The Emperor's readings—Madame de Sévigné—Charles XII—Paul and Virginia — Vertot — Rollin — Velly—Garnier 136
A difficulty overcome—The Emperor's personal danger at Eylau, Jena, &c.—Russian, Austrian, and Prussian Troops —Young Guibert — Marshal Lannes — Bessières — Duroc 141
Study of English—Reflections—Ride—Mired Horse . . . 153

Page
THE THIRTEENTH OF VENDEMIAIRE 161
BATTLE OF MONTENOTTE 182
FRAGMENTS OF CHAPTER III.—Topography of Italy . . 209
The Emperor speaks in praise of Saint-Helena.—Scanty resources of the Island 216
My Son's indisposition.—The Emperor gives me a horse 219
The Emperor's progress in learning English 220
The Emperor learns the death of Murat 222
Porlier—Ferdinand—Tables of my Atlas 227
On Egypt—Plan for altering the course of the Nile . . . 230
Uniformity—Ennui—The Emperor's Solitude—Caricatures 232
The Emperor's long walk 234
Bad temperature of Saint-Helena—Observations on the spirit of this Journal 236
The Emperor's views of French politics 237
Picture of domestic happiness drawn by the Emperor—Two young ladies of the Island 240
The Emperor's works in the Island of Elba—Predilection of the Algerines for the Emperor 243
Piontkowski—Caricature 244
The Emperor's return from Elba 246
Campaigns of Italy and Egypt—The Emperor's Opinion on the great French Poets—Tragedies by late Writers —*Hector*—*Les Etats de Blois*—Talma 247
Contractors, &c. during the Revolution—The Emperor's credit on his return from Elba—His reputation in the Public Offices as a rigid investigator—Ministers of Finance and the Treasury—Cadastre 253
The Invasion of England 261
The China Fleet 266
Etiquette of the Emperor's Court—Circumstance that took place at Tarare—Officers of State—Chamberlains —Unequalled splendour of the Court of the Tuileries—Admirable regulation of the Palace—The Emperor's Levees—Dining in State—The Court and the City . . 267
Set of Chessmen from China—Presentation of the Captains of the China Fleet 281
A Trick 284
An opportunity for the Emperor to make use of his English —On Medicine—Corvisart—Definition—On the Plague —Medical practice in Babylon 285

Page

Trial of Ney—The Emperor's carriage taken at Waterloo —The interview at Dresden—On the caprice of Women —The Princess Pauline—Eloquent effusion of the Emperor 292
Insult to the Emperor and the Prince of Wales—Execution of Ney—Escape of Lavalette 319
Message for the Prince Regent 323
Spirit of the Inhabitants of the Isle of France 324
The Emperor's intentions with respect to Rome—Horrible Food—*Britannicus* 326
20th of March—Accouchement of the Empress 329
The Conspiracy of Catiline—The Gracchi—Historians—Sleep during a Battle—Cæsar and his Commentaries—On different Military systems. 333
Days at Longwood—Trial of Drouot—Military Characters —Soult—Massena—The Emperor's Comrades in the Artillery—His name thought by him to be unknown to some people even in Paris 340
Political examination of conscience — Loyalty and prosperity of the Empire—Liberal ideas of the Emperor on the indifference of parties—Marmont—Murat—Berthier 349
Chance of danger in battle, &c.—The Bulletins very correct 358
Unhealthiness of the Island 359
Remarks of the Emperor on his Expedition in the East 361
Summary of the last nine Months 363

*** The succeeding Volumes of this Work are preparing for publication.

MY RESIDENCE

WITH

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT ST. HELENA.

CONTINUANCE OF OUR ABODE AT BRIARS.

Origin of Guides.—Another Danger incurred by Napoleon.—The German Officer.

DECEMBER 1st—3rd. Many incidents fill up this interval; some I reject as unnecessary, some it is proper I should withhold. I here note down only a few anecdotes of the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy.

After the passage of the Mincio, Napoleon, having concerted all his plans, and pursued the enemy in every direction, entered a castle on the left bank of the river. He was troubled with the head-ache, and he used a foot-bath. A large detachment of the enemy, in great confusion, arrived, having ascended the river as far as the castle. Napoleon was there, and only a few persons were with him; the sentinel on

duty at the gate had just time to close it, exclaiming, To arms! and the General of the Army of Italy, in the arms of victory, was compelled to escape through the back gates of the garden, with but one boot on. Had he been made prisoner, before his reputation was established, the acts of genius which had marked the commencement of his career, would, perhaps, by the common run of mankind, have been considered merely as fortunate and blameable enterprises. The danger which the French General had just escaped (a circumstance which through his plan of operations was likely often to recur) was the origin of the guides appointed to guard his person. These guides have since been introduced in other armies.

In the same campaign, Napoleon incurred another imminent risk:—Wurmser, who had been compelled to throw himself into Mantua, and who was debouching suddenly on an open plain, learned from an old woman, that only a few moments before his arrival, the French General, with but a few followers, had stopped at her door, and that he had fled at sight of the Austrians. Wurmser immediately despatched parties of cavalry in every direction, calculating with certainty on the precious capture. "But," said the Emperor, "I must do him this justice, "he gave particular orders that I should not be "killed or harmed in any way." Fortunately

for the young General, his happy star and the swiftness of his horse combined to save him.

The new system of military operations practised by Napoleon disconcerted every one. The campaign was scarcely opened, when Lombardy was inundated with troops in every direction, and the French approached Mantua *pêle mêle* with the enemy. The General-in-chief, when in the neighbourhood of Pizzighitone, saw a tall German Colonel, who had been made prisoner. Napoleon took a fancy to question him, without being known, and enquired how affairs were going on. "Very badly," replied the officer; "I know not how it will end; but no one seems "to understand what they are about: we have "been sent to fight a young blockhead, who at- "tacks us on the right and the left, in front and "in the rear, so that we know not how to pro- "ceed. This mode of carrying on war is into- "lerable; and for my part, I am very glad to have "done with it. . . . ."

Napoleon used to relate that, after one of his great actions in Italy, he passed over the field of battle before the dead bodies had been interred: "In the deep silence of a beautiful moon-light "night," said the Emperor, "a dog, leaping sud- "denly from beneath the clothes of his dead "master, rushed upon us, and then immediately "returned to his hiding-place, howling piteously. "He alternately licked his master's hand, and

" ran towards us; thus, at once soliciting aid " and seeking revenge. Whether owing to my " own particular turn of mind at the moment," continued the Emperor, " the time, the place, or " the action itself, I know not; but certainly, no " incident on any field of battle ever produced " so deep an impression on me. I involuntarily " stopped to contemplate the scene. This man, " thought I, perhaps, has friends in the camp or " in his company; and here he lies forsaken by " all except his dog! What a lesson Nature here " presents through the medium of an animal! " What a strange being is man! and how myste- " rious are his impressions! I had, without " emotion, ordered battles which were to decide " the fate of the army; I had beheld, with tear- " less eyes, the execution of those operations, by " which numbers of my countrymen were sacri- " ficed; and here my feelings were roused by " the mournful howling of a dog! Certainly " at that moment I should have been easily " moved by a suppliant enemy: I could very " well imagine Achilles surrendering up the body " of Hector at the sight of Priam's tears."

War.—Principles.—Application.—Opinions on several Generals.

4th.—5th. My eyes had become so bad that I was obliged to suspend my occupation: I had nearly lost my sight on the campaign of Italy.

For some time past a sensible change had taken place in the weather. We knew nothing about the order of the seasons. As the sun passed twice over our heads in the course of the year, we said we ought, at least, to have two summers. Every thing was totally different from what we had been accustomed to; and, to complete our embarrassments, we were obliged, being now in the southern hemisphere, to make all our calculations in a manner quite the reverse of that which we had practised in Europe. It rained frequently; the air was very damp, and it grew colder than before. The Emperor could no longer go out in the evening; he was continually catching cold, and did not sleep well. He was obliged to give up taking his meals beneath the tent, and he had them served up in his own chamber. Here he found himself better; but he could not stir from his seat.

Our conversation continued after the dinner was removed from table. To-day the Emperor attacked General Gourgaud on the elements and first exercises of artillery. The General had belonged to that department of the service, and had recently been engaged in the requisite course of study. The discussion was very curious, and was maintained with great spirit. Napoleon never proved himself to be the weaker party: one might have been tempted to believe that he had just passed his examination at the academy.

The conversation then turned on war and great commanders. "The fate of a battle," observed the Emperor, "is the result of a moment, of a "thought: the hostile forces advance with va- "rious combinations, they attack each other "and fight for a certain time; the critical mo- "ment arrives, a mental flash decides, and "the least reserve accomplishes the object." He spoke of Lutzen, Bautzen, &c.; and afterwards, alluding to Waterloo, he said, that had he followed up the idea of turning the enemy's right, he should easily have succeeded; he, however, preferred piercing the centre, and separating the two armies. But all was fatal in that engagement; it even assumed the appearance of absurdity; yet, nevertheless, he ought to have gained the victory. Never had any of his battles presented less doubt to his mind; and he was still at a loss to account for what had happened. Grouchi, he said, had lost himself; Ney appeared bewildered, and his countenance sufficiently expressed the remorse he felt for Fontainbleau and Lons-le-Saunier; Derlon was useless; in short, the generals were no longer themselves. If, in the evening, he had been aware of Grouchi's position, and could have thrown himself upon it, he might, in the morning, with the help of that fine reserve, have repaired his ill success, and, perhaps, even have destroyed the

allied forces by one of those miracles, those turns of fortune which were familiar to him, and which would have surprised no one. But he knew nothing of Grouchi; and besides, it was not easy to act with decision amongst the wrecks of the army. It would be difficult to imagine the condition of the French army on that disastrous night; it was a torrent dislodged from its bed, hurling away every thing in its course.

Turning to another subject, he said that the dangers incurred by the military commanders of ancient times were not to be compared to those which attended the generals of modern times. There was, he observed, no positions in which a general might not now be reached by artillery; but anciently a general ran no risk, except when he himself charged, which Cæsar did only twice or thrice.

"We rarely," said he, "find, combined toge-
"ther, all the qualities necessary to constitute a
"great general. The object most desirable is,
"that a man's judgment should be in equili-
"brium with his physical character or courage."
This is what the Emperor termed being *well squared*, both by the base and perpendicular.

"If," continued he, "courage be a general's
"predominating quality, he will rashly under-
"take what he cannot execute; and, on the other
"hand, he will not venture to carry any measure

" into effect, if his character or courage be in-
" ferior to his judgment."

He then cited the example of the Vice-Roy, whose sole merit consisted in this equilibrium of character, which, however, sufficed to render him a very distinguished man.

Physical and moral courage then became the subject of discourse. " With respect to physical
" courage," the Emperor said, " that it was impos-
" sible for Murat and Ney not to be brave, but no
" man ever possessed less judgment; the former
" in particular." " As to moral courage," observed he, " I have very rarely met with *the two*
" *o'clock in the morning kind.* I mean, unpre-
" pared courage, that which is necessary on an
" unexpected occasion, and which, in spite of
" the most unforeseen events, leaves full freedom
" of judgment and decision." He did not hesitate to declare that he was himself eminently gifted with this *two o'clock in the morning* courage, and that, in this respect, he had met with but few persons who were at all equal to him. He remarked that an incorrect idea was generally formed of the strength of mind necessary to engage in one of those great battles on which depends the fate of an army or nation, or the possession of a throne. " Generals," added he,
" are rarely found eager to give battle; they
" choose their positions; establish themselves;
" consider their combinations; but then com-

" mences their indecision : nothing is so difficult, " and at the same time so important, as to know " when to decide."

He next proceeded to notice several generals, and condescended to reply to some questions that were asked him. " Kleber," said he, " was " endowed with the highest talent; but he was " merely the man of the moment: he pursued " glory as the only road to happiness; but he " had no national sentiment, and he could, with- " out any sacrifice, have devoted himself to " foreign service." Kleber had commenced his youthful career among the Prussians, to whom he continued much attached. Dessaix possessed, in a very superior degree, the important equilibrium above described. Moreau scarcely deserved to be placed in the first rank of generals; in him nature had left her work unfinished; he possessed more instinct than genius. In Lannes, courage at first predominated over judgment; but the latter was every day gaining ground, and approaching equilibrium. He had become a very able commander at the period of his death. " I found him a dwarf," said the Emperor, " but " I lost him a giant." In another general, whom he named, judgment was, on the contrary, superior to courage; it could not be denied that he was a brave man; but he calculated the chance of the cannon-ball, like many others.

Speaking of military ardour and courage, the

Emperor said; "I know the depth, or what I "call the *draught of water* of all my generals. "Some," added he, joining action to his words, "will sink to the waist, some to the chin, others "over the head; but the number of the latter "is very small, I assure you." Suchet, he said, was one whose courage and judgment had been surprisingly improved. Massena was a very superior man, and, by a strange peculiarity of temperament, he possessed the desired equilibrium only in the heat of battle; it was created in the midst of danger. "The generals," finally observed the Emperor, "who seemed destined to "rise to future distinction were Gerard, Clau- "sel, Foy, Lamarque, &c. These were my new "marshals."

Situation of the Spanish Princes at Valencey.—The Pope at Fontainbleau.—Reflections, &c.

6th.—The Emperor, after dictating to me this morning, was successively engaged with some gentlemen, with whom he prolonged his walk for some time. When they withdrew, I followed him into the lower path: he was dull and silent, and his countenance appeared somewhat harsh and ruffled. "Well," said he, as we were returning to dinner, "we shall have sentinels "under our windows at Longwood. They wished "to force me to have a foreign officer at my table "and in my drawing-room. I cannot mount my

"horse without being accompanied by an offi-
"cer; in short, we cannot stir a step under pain
"of being insulted!...." I replied, that this was another drop of sorrow added to the bitter cup which we were doomed to drink to his past glory and power; but that his philosophy was sufficient to defy the malice of his enemies, and to make them blush for their brutality in the face of the whole world. I ventured to remark, that the Spanish Princes at Valencey, and the Pope at Fontainbleau had never experienced such treatment. "Cer-
"tainly not," resumed he, "the Princes hunted and
"gave balls at Valencey, without being physically
"aware of their chains; they experienced respect
"and courtesy at all hands. Old King Charles IV.
"removed from Compiegne to Marseilles, and
"from Marseilles to Rome, whenever he wished.
"And yet how different are those places from
"this! The Pope at Fontainbleau, whatever
"may have been the reports circulated in the
"world, was treated in the same manner. And
"yet, how many persons, in spite of all the in-
"dulgences he enjoyed, refused to be appointed
"to guard him; a circumstance which gave me
"no offence, for I thought it perfectly natural.
"Such employments are subject to the influence
"of delicacy of feeling; and our European man-
"ners require that power should be limited by
"honour." He observed that, for his own part, as a private man and an officer, he should with-

out hesitation have refused to guard the Pope, whose removal to France, he added, had never been ordered by him.—I manifested great surprise.—"You are astonished," said he: "you "did not know this? But it is nevertheless [redacted]ue, as well as many other similar facts, which "you will learn in course of time. But with "reference to the subject on which we have just "been speaking, it is necessary to distinguish the "conduct of the sovereign, who acts collectively, "from that of the private man, whose sentiments "are without constraint. Policy permits, nay, "frequently demands, from the one, what would "be unpardonable in the other." The hour of dinner, by introducing various subjects of conversation, diverted his melancholy, and cheerfulness finally prevailed.

Meanwhile the Emperor seriously determined to quit his present wretched abode, whatever inconvenience his new residence might present. On going to pass the remainder of the evening with our host, the Emperor directed me to present him a box bearing his cypher, and to tell him he was sorry for all the trouble he had occasioned to him.

On the Nouvelle Heloïse, and on Love.

7th.—The Emperor summoned me to attend him at an early hour: He began to read the Nouvelle Heloïse, frequently remarking on the

ingenuity and force of the arguments, the elegance of the style and expressions: he read for upwards of two hours. This reading made a powerful impression on me; it produced a deep melancholy—a mingled feeling of tenderness and sorrow. I had always been fond of the work; and it now awakened happy recollections; and excited deep regret: the Emperor frequently smiled at me. During breakfast the Nouvelle Heloïse was the topic of conversation.

"Jean-Jacques has overcharged his subject," said the Emperor; "he has painted madness: "love should be a source of pleasure, not of misery." I alleged that Jean-Jacques had described nothing which a man might not feel, and that even the misery to which the Emperor alluded was, in reality, happiness.—"I see," said he, "you have a little touch of the romantic: "has Love's misery rendered you happy?"—"I "do not complain of my fate, Sire," replied I; "were I to begin life again, I should wish to re-"trace the course I have already pursued."

The Emperor resumed his reading after breakfast; but he paused occasionally: the enchantment seemed to seize him in his turn. He at length laid down the book, and we went out to the garden. "Really," said he, as we walked along, "this work is not without fire; it moves, "it rouses the feelings." We discussed the subject deeply; we were very prolix in our remarks,

and we at length agreed that perfect love is like ideal happiness; that both are equally airy, fugitive, mysterious, and inexplicable; and that, finally, love is the business of the idle man, the recreation of the warrior, and the ruin of the sovereign.

We were joined by the Grand Marshal and M. Gourgaud, who had just come from Longwood. The Admiral had for some days past been urgent for our removal thither; and the Emperor was no less anxious to go, being so very ill at Briars. However, before he removed, it was necessary that the smell of the paint should be entirely gone, for, owing to his peculiar organization, he could not possibly endure it. In the Imperial palaces, he had never been suffered to go near fresh paint. In his different journeys, the slightest smell of paint frequently rendered it necessary to change the apartments that had been prepared for him; and on board of the Northumberland the paint of the ship made him very ill. He had been informed on the preceding evening that all was ready at Longwood, and that the disagreeable effect of the paint was entirely gone. He accordingly determined to remove on the Saturday following, as he would thus be rid of the annoyance of the workmen on Sunday; but the Grand Marshal and M. Gourgaud now came to say, that they had visited the place, and that it was not habit-

able. The Emperor expressed much vexation at the first account he had received, and the resolution it had led him to adopt. The two gentlemen withdrew, and we entered the lower walk. The Emperor was much out of humour. M. de Montholon now arrived, very *mal-à-propos*, from Longwood, declaring that all was ready, and that the Emperor might remove as soon as he wished. These two accounts, so contradictory, and so close upon each other, powerfully excited his displeasure. Fortunately, dinner was announced, which diverted his attention from the subject. The cloth was laid in the Emperor's chamber; for he had so severe a cold that he could not endure the tent. After dinner he resumed his reading; and ended the day, as he had begun it, with the Nouvelle Héloïse.

The English Lieutenant.—A singular circumstance.—Departure for Longwood determined on.—State of France.—Memorial in justification of Ney.

8th—9th. Owing to the doubt which had yesterday arisen respecting the paint, I determined to go myself to ascertain the real state of the case, and to acquaint the Emperor with it at breakfast-time. I accordingly set out very early, walking three parts of the way, because nobody was up who could prepare a horse for me. I returned before nine o'clock. The smell of the

paint was certainly very slight; but it was too much for the Emperor.

On the 9th the Captain of the Minden 74-gun ship, was introduced to the Emperor in the garden. The captain had arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, and was on the eve of sailing for Europe. He had had the honour of being presented to Napoléon at Paris, under the Consulate, about twelve years before. He requested permission to introduce one of his Lieutenants to the Emperor, on account of some personal circumstances, which we thought very singular. The young man was born at Bologna, precisely at the period when the French army entered that city. The French General, Napoleon, had by some accident been present at the christening of the child, to whom he gave a tricoloured cockade, which has since been carefully preserved in the family.

After the departure of these gentlemen, the Grand Marshal arrived from Longwood. He thought the paint was by no means offensive: the Emperor was very unwell, and a portion of his property had already been removed; he therefore resolved to proceed to Longwood on the day following, of which I was heartily glad. I had for some days past had an opportunity of observing that a determination had been adopted to compel the Emperor to quit his present abode. I had kept to myself all the communications,

public or private, that had been made to me on the subject. I made it a rule to spare him every cause of vexation that I possibly could, and merely contented myself with acting in the way I thought most advisable. Two days before, an officer was sent to carry away the tent, though we had expressed no wish to that effect. The officer had also been directed to remove the outside shutters from the Emperor's windows; but this I opposed, telling him it could not be done, as the Emperor had not yet risen, and I sent him away. On another occasion, with the view of alarming me, I was told as a great secret that if the Emperor did not immediately remove, it was intended to station a hundred soldiers at the gates of the enclosure. "Very well," I replied, and took no further notice. What could be the occasion of all this hurry? I suspect that the caprice of our jailors, and the desire of pushing their authority to the utmost, had more concern in the business than any thing else.

We received newspapers down to the 15th of September; and they became the subject of conversation. The Emperor analyzed them. The future appeared enveloped in cloud. "However," said the Emperor, "three great events "present themselves to the imagination;—the "division of France, the reign of the Bourbons, "or a new dynasty. Louis XVIII." observed he, "might easily have reigned in 1814, by render-

" ing himself a national monarch. Now he has " only the odious and uncertain chance, arising " out of excessive severity;—a reign of terror. " His dynasty may be permanently established, " or that which is to succeed him, may still be in " the secret of futurity." Some one present observed, " that the Duke of Orleans might be " called to the throne;" and the Emperor, by a string of very forcible and eloquent reasoning, proved that the Duke of Orleans would, at least, never wear the crown in the course of succession; and that it was the well-understood interest of all the sovereigns of Europe, to prefer him (Napoleon) to the Duke of Orleans, coming to the throne by the career of crime. " For," said he, " what is the doctrine of Kings against the " events of the present day? Is it to prevent " a renewal of the example which I furnished, " against what they call legitimacy? Now the " example which I have set, cannot be renewed " above once in the course of many ages; but " that of the Duke of Orleans, the near relative of " the monarch on the throne, may be renewed " daily, hourly, and in every country. There is " no sovereign, who has not, in his own palace, " and about his person, cousins, nephews, " brothers, and other relations, ready to pursue " a course which, one day or other, may cause " them to be deposed."

We read, in the same papers, an abstract of the

memorial, in justification of Marshal Ney.—The Emperor thought it most pitiable. It was not calculated to save his life, and by no means to maintain his honour. The arguments in his defence were, to say the least of them, feeble, and destitute of point. After all he had done, he still protested his devotedness to the King, and his aversion of the Emperor. "An absurd plan," said Napoleon, "but one which has been gene-
"rally adopted by those who have figured in the
"present memorable times, and who seem not to
"have considered that I am so entirely identified
"with our prodigies, our monuments, our insti-
"tutions, and all our national acts, that to sepa-
"rate me from them is to do violence to France.
"The glory of France is to acknowledge me!
"And, in spite of all the subtlety, evasion, and
"falsehood, that may be employed to prove
"the contrary, my character will still be fairly
"estimated by the French nation. Ney's de-
"fence," continued he, "was plainly traced
"out. He was led on by a general impulse which
"he thought calculated to ensure the welfare of
"his country; he had obeyed without premedi-
"tation, and without any treasonable design. A
"change of fortune had ensued, and he was cited
"before a tribunal; this was all he had to say
"with respect to the great events that had taken
"place. As to the defence of his life, there was
"nothing to be said on that point, except, indeed,

" that he was protected by a solemn capitulation, " which guaranteed to every individual silence " and oblivion with regard to all political acts " and opinions. Had he pursued that line of de- " fence, and were his life, nevertheless, to be " sacrificed, it would be, in the face of the whole " world, a violation of the most sacred laws. He " would leave behind him the recollection of a " glorious character; carrying to the grave the " sympathy of every generous mind, and heaping " disgrace and reprobation on his murderers. " But this enthusiasm is probably beyond his " moral strength," said the Emperor. " Ney is " the bravest of men; and every other faculty is " subordinate to his courage."

It is certain that when Ney quitted Paris, he was wholly devoted to the King; and that he did not turn until he saw that all was lost. If he then proved himself enthusiastic in the opposite course, it was because he felt he had much to atone for. After his famous order of the day, he wrote to inform Napoleon that what he had done was principally with a view to the welfare of the country; and that as he could not henceforth be agreeable to the Emperor, he begged that he would grant him permission to retire. The Emperor desired him to come, and said he would receive him as he did on the day after the battle of Moscow. Ney presented himself to Napoleon, and said, that after what had occurred, he must

of necessity entertain doubts of his attachment and fidelity; and that therefore he solicited no other rank than that of a grenadier in the Imperial guard. The Emperor replied by stretching forth his hand to him, and calling him the bravest of the brave, as he was accustomed to do. Ney subsequently told the Emperor . . . . . .

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The Emperor compared the situation of Ney to that of Turenne. Ney might be defended; but Turenne was unjustifiable. And yet Turenne was pardoned and loaded with honours, while Ney was probably doomed to die.

"In 1649," said he, "Turenne commanded "the royal army, which command had been con- "ferred on him by Anne of Austria, the Regent "of the kingdom. Though he had taken the oath "of fidelity, yet he bribed his troops, and de- "clared himself for the Fronde, and marched "on Paris. But when he was declared guilty "of high treason, his repentant army forsook "him; and Turenne took refuge with the Prince "of Hesse, to avoid the pursuit of justice. Ney, "on the contrary, was urged by the unanimous "wish and outcry of his army. Only nine months "had elapsed since he had acknowledged a mo- "narch, who had been preceded by six hundred "thousand foreign bayonets; a monarch who "had not accepted the constitution presented to "him by the Senate, as the formal and necessary

" condition of his return, and who, by declaring
" that he had reigned nineteen years, proved that
" he regarded all preceding governments as usur-
" pations. Ney, whose education had taught
" him to respect the national sovereignty, had
" fought for five-and-twenty years to support that
" cause; and, from a private soldier, had raised
" himself to the rank of marshal. If his conduct
" on the 20th of March was not honourable, it is
" at least explicable, and in some respects pardon-
" able; but Turenne was absolutely criminal, be-
" cause the Fronde was the ally of Spain, which
" was then at war with his sovereign, and because
" he had been prompted by his own interest and
" that of his family, in the hope of obtaining a
" sovereignty at the expense of France, and
" consequently to the prejudice of his country."

ESTABLISHMENT AT LONGWOOD.

Removal to Longwood.—Description of the Road.—Taking Possession.—The Emperor's First Bath, &c.

10.—The Emperor ordered me to be called about nine o'clock, to accompany him into the garden. He was obliged to leave his chamber very early, as all the furniture was to be removed that morning to Longwood. On entering the garden, the Emperor sent for Mr. Balcombe our host. He then ordered his breakfast, and invited Mr. Balcombe to breakfast with him. He was in charming spirits, and his conversation was very lively.

About two o'clock the Admiral was announced: he advanced with an air of embarrassment. The manner in which the Emperor had been treated at Briars, and the restraints which had been imposed upon the members of his suite residing in the town, had occasioned a coolness between them. The Emperor had discontinued receiving the visits of the Admiral; yet on the present occasion he behaved to him as though they had met but yesterday.

At length we left Briars, and set out for Longwood. The Emperor rode the horse which had

been brought to him from the Cape. He had not seen him before; he was a small, sprightly, and tolerably handsome animal. The Emperor wore his uniform of the chasseurs of the guard: his graceful figure and handsome countenance were particularly remarkable. His appearance attracted general notice, and I was gratified to hear the observations it called forth. The Admiral was very attentive to him. Many persons had collected on the road to see him pass. Several English officers, together with ourselves, formed his escort.

The road from Briars to Longwood runs for some distance in the direction of the town. It then turns off suddenly to the right, and, after three or four windings, clears the chain of hills forming one side of the valley. The road next opens upon a level height of gentle acclivity, and a new horizon and new scenes present themselves. We now left behind us the chain of barren mountains and rocks which distinguish the landing-side of the island, and saw before us a transverse group of hills, of which Diana's Peak is the highest, and appears like the key-stone, or the nucleus of the surrounding scene. On the left or eastern side, where Longwood is situated, the horizon is bounded by the broken chain of rocks forming the outline and barrier of the island. There the soil exhibits an uncultivated desert; but on the right the eye rests on an extensive

tract of country, which, though rugged, at least presents traces of vegetation: it is covered with numerous residences, and upon the whole is tolerably well cultivated. On this side, it must be confessed, the picture is romantic and pleasing.

Here a deep valley opens on the left of the road, which is in very good condition; and two miles farther on, where the road turns in an angular direction, stands Hut's gate, a wretched little house, which was selected as the residence of the Grand Marshal and his family. At a short distance from this point, the valley on the left, having gradually encreased in depth, forms a circular gulf, which from its vast depth and extent, has received the name of the Devil's Punch-bowl. The road is here contracted by an eminence on the right, and it runs along by the side of this precipice, until it turns off in the direction of Longwood, which is close at hand.

At the entrance of Longwood, we found a guard under arms, who rendered the prescribed honours to the august captive. The Emperor's horse, which was spirited and untractable, being unused to this kind of parade, was startled at the sound of the drum; he refused to pass the gate, and it was only by the help of the spur, that his rider succeeded in forcing him to advance. At this moment, I observed very expressive looks exchanged among the persons composing the

Emperor's escort. We entered our new residence about four o'clock.

The Admiral took great pains to point out to us even the minutest details at Longwood. He had superintended all the arrangements, and some things were even the work of his own hands. The Emperor was satisfied with every thing, and the Admiral seemed highly pleased. He had evidently anticipated petulance and disdain; but the Emperor manifested perfect good-humour.

He retired at six o'clock, and beckoned me to follow him to his chamber. Here he examined various articles of furniture, and enquired whether I was similarly provided. On my replying in the negative, he insisted on my accepting of them; saying in the most engaging manner, "Take them, "I shall want for nothing: I shall be taken bet- "ter care of than you." He felt much fatigued, and he asked whether he did not look so. This was the consequence of having passed five months in perfect inactivity. He had walked a good deal in the morning, besides riding some miles on horseback.

Our new residence was provided with a bathing machine, which the Admiral had ordered the carpenters to fit up in the best way they could. The Emperor, who, since he quitted Malmaison, had been obliged to dispense with the use of the bath, which to him had become one of the necessaries of life, expressed a wish to bathe imme-

diately, and directed me to remain with him. The most trivial details of our new establishment came once more under consideration; and as the apartment which had been assigned to me was very bad, the Emperor expressed a wish that, during the day, I should occupy what he called his topographic cabinet, which adjoined his own private closet, in order, as he said, that I might be nearer him. I was much affected by the kind manner in which all this was spoken. He even went so far as to tell me that I must come next morning and take a bath in his machine; and when I excused myself on the ground of the respect and the distance which it was indispensable should be observed betwixt us, "My dear "Las Cases," said he, "fellow prisoners should "accommodate each other. I do not want the "bath all day, and it is no less necessary to you "than to me." One would have supposed that he wished to indemnify me for the loss I was about to sustain, in being no longer the only individual about his person. This kindness delighted me, it is true; but it also produced a feeling of regret. The kindness of the Emperor was doubtless the reward of my assiduous attentions at Briars; but it also gave me cause to anticipate the close of that constant intercourse with him, for which I had been indebted to our profound solitude. The Emperor, not wishing to dress again, dined in his own chamber, and de-

sired me to remain with him. We were alone, and our conversation turned on a subject of a peculiar nature, the result of which may be exceedingly important. He asked my opinion, and told me to communicate it to him next morning.

Description of Longwood.

11th—14th. We now found unfolded to us a new portion of our existence on the wretched rock of Saint-Helena. We were settled in our new abode, and the limits of our prison were marked out.

Longwood, which was originally merely a farm belonging to the East India company, and which was afterwards given as a country residence to the Deputy Governor, is situated on one of the highest parts of the Island. The difference of the temperature between this place and the valley where we landed, is marked by a variation of at least ten degrees of the English thermometer. Longwood stands on a level height, which is tolerably extensive on the eastern side, and pretty near the coast. Continual, and frequently violent gales, always blowing in the same quarter, sweep the surface of the ground. The sun, though it rarely appears, nevertheless exercises its influence on the atmosphere, which is apt to produce disorders of the liver, if due precaution be not observed. Heavy and sudden

falls of rain, complete the impossibility of distinguishing any regular season. But there is no regular course of seasons at Longwood. The whole year presents a continuance of wind, clouds, and rain; and the temperature is of that mild and monotonous kind, which, perhaps, after all, is rather conducive to *ennui* than disease. Notwithstanding the abundant rains, the grass rapidly disappears, being either nipped by the wind, or withered by the heat. The water, which is conveyed hither by a conduit, is so unwholesome that the Deputy Governor, when he lived at Longwood, never suffered it to be used in his family until it had been boiled; and we are obliged to do the same. The trees which, at a distance, impart a smiling aspect to the scene, are merely gum-trees—a wretched kind of shrub, affording no shade. On one hand, the horizon is bounded by the vast ocean: but the rest of the scene presents only a mass of huge barren rocks, deep gulfs, and desolate valleys; and in the distance, appear the green and misty chain of mountains, above which towers Diana's Peak. In short, Longwood can be pleasing only to the traveller, after the fatigues of a long voyage, for whom the sight of any land is a cheering prospect. Arriving at Saint-Helena on a fine day, he may, perhaps, be struck with the singularity of the objects which suddenly present themselves, and may, perhaps, exclaim "How beautiful!" but his visit

is momentary; and what pain does not his hasty admiration cause to the unhappy captives who are doomed to pass their lives at Saint-Helena!

Workmen had been constantly employed for two months in preparing Longwood for our reception; the result of their labours, however, amounted to little. The entrance to the house was through a room which had just been built, and which was intended to answer the double purpose of an anti-chamber and a dining-room. This apartment led to another, which was made the drawing-room; beyond this was a third room running in a cross direction and very dark. This was intended to be the depository of the Emperor's maps and books; but it was afterwards converted into the dining-room. The Emperor's chamber opened into this apartment on the right-hand side. This chamber was divided into two equal parts, forming the Emperor's cabinet and sleeping-room: a little external gallery served for a bathing-room. Opposite the Emperor's chamber, at the other extremity of the building, were the apartments of Madame de Montholon, her husband, and her son, which have since been used as the Emperor's library. Detached from this part of the house, was a little square room on the ground-floor contiguous to the kitchen, which was assigned to me. My son was obliged to enter his room through a

trap-door and by the help of a ladder; it was nothing but a loft and scarcely afforded room for his bed. Our windows and beds were without curtains. The few articles of furniture which were in our apartments had evidently been obtained from the inhabitants of the island, who doubtless readily seized the opportunity of disposing of them to advantage for the sake of supplying themselves with better.

The Grand Marshal with his wife and children had been left at the distance of two miles behind us, in a place which even here is denominated a *hut* (Hut's-gate). General Gourgaud slept under a tent, as did also the Doctor,* and the officer commanding our guard, till such time as their apartments should be ready, which the crew of the Northumberland were rapidly preparing.

We were surrounded by a kind of garden; but, owing to the little attention which we had it in our power to bestow on its cultivation, joined to the want of water and the nature of the climate, it was a garden only by name. In front, and separated from us by a tolerably deep ravine, was encamped the fifty-third regiment different parties of which were posted on the neighbouring heights. — Such was our new abode.

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* Dr. O'Meara of the Northumberland.

On the 12th I communicated to the Emperor my opinion on the subject, respecting which we had conversed two days before. He came to no decision, conceiving the affair to be useless. I ventured to maintain that even doubtful as the case might be, there was nothing either to lose or to risk, and that it was merely taking a chance in the lottery without the expense of a share. Time, however, has proved that the Emperor judged correctly. The thing would have been perfectly useless; it could have led to no result.

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The same day Colonel Wilks, (formerly Governor for the East India Company,) who had been succeeded by the Admiral, came to visit the Emperor. I acted as interpreter on the occasion. On the 13th or 14th the Minden sailed for Europe, and I availed myself of the opportunity thus afforded to send letters to London and Paris.

Arrangement of the Emperor's establishment.—Feelings of the captives with respect to each other.—Traits of the Emperor's character.—Portrait of Napoleon by M. de Pradt, translated from an English newspaper.—Its refutation.

15th—16th. The domestic establishment of the Emperor, on his departure from Plymouth, consisted of twelve persons. I feel pleasure in re-

cording their names here; it is a testimony due to their devotedness.* . . . . . .

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However numerous this establishment may appear, it may be truly said that after our departure from England, during the voyage, and from the time of our landing at Saint-Helena, it had ceased to be serviceable to the Emperor. Our dispersion, the uncertainty of our establishment, our wants, and the irregular way in which they were supplied, necessarily created disorder.

As soon as we were all assembled at Longwood, the Emperor determined to arrange his establishment, and to assign to each of us an em-

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* Individuals composing the Emperor's household.

Servants of the chamber.

Marchand, . . .	native of Paris, . .	1st valet de chambre.
St. Denis, called Aly,	native of Versailles	valet de chambre.
Noverraz, . . .	Swiss, ...	ditto.
Santini, ...	Corsican, ...	usher.

Servants in livery.

Archambault, sen. .	native of Fontainebleau,	groom.
Archambault, jun. .	ditto, ...	ditto.
Gentilini, . . .	native of Elba, . .	footman.

Servants for the table.

Cypriani, . . .	Corsican, died at St. Helena,	maitre d'hotel.
Pierron, . . .	native of Paris, ...	butler.
Lepage, ...		cook.
Rousseau, . . .	native of Fontainebleau, .	steward.

ployment suited to our respective capacities. Reserving to the Grand Marshal the general control and superintendence of the whole household; he consigned to M. de Montholon all the domestic details. To M. Gourgaud he intrusted the direction of the stables; and I was appointed to take care of the property and furniture, and to superintend the management of our supplies. The latter part of my duty appeared to interfere too much with the regulation of domestic details. I conceived it would be conducive to the general advantage, that these two departments should be under the control of one individual, and I soon succeeded in accomplishing this object.

Every thing now proceeded tolerably well, and we were certainly more comfortable than before. But, however reasonable might be the regulations made by the Emperor, they, nevertheless, sowed the seeds of discontent, which took root, and occasionally developed themselves. One thought himself a loser by the change; another sought to attach too high an importance to his office; and a third conceived that he had been wronged in the general division of duties. We were no longer the members of one family, each exerting his best endeavours to secure the advantage of the whole. We were far from putting into practice that which necessity seemed to dictate to us; and a wreck of luxury, or a remnant of ambition, frequently became an object of dispute.

Though attachment to the person of the Emperor had united us around him, yet chance, and not sympathy, had brought us together. Our connexion was purely fortuitous, and not the result of any natural affinity. Thus, at Longwood, we were encircled round a centre, but without any cohesion with each other. How could it be otherwise? We were almost all strangers to one another, and, unfortunately, our different conditions, ages, and characters, were calculated to make us continue so.

These circumstances, though in themselves trifling, had the vexatious effect of depriving us of our most agreeable resources. It banished that confidence, interchange of sentiment, and intimate union, which might have proved a source of happiness even amidst our cruel misfortunes. But, on the other hand, these very circumstances served to develope many excellent traits in the Emperor's character. They were apparent in his endeavours to produce among us unity and conformity of sentiment; his constant care to remove every just cause of jealousy; the voluntary abstraction by which he averted his attention from that which he wished not to observe; and finally, the paternal expressions of displeasure, of which we were occasionally the objects, and which (to the honour of all be it said) were avoided as cautiously, and received as respect-

fully, as though they had emanated from the throne of the Tuileries.

Who can pretend to know the Emperor in his character of a private man better than myself?—I who was with him during two months of solitude in the desert of Briars;—I who accompanied him in his long walks by moonlight, and who enjoyed so many hours in his society? Who like me had the opportunity of choosing the moment, the place, and the subject of his conversation? Who besides myself heard him recall to mind the charms of his boyhood, or describe the pleasures of his youth, and the bitterness of his recent sorrow? I am convinced that I know his character thoroughly, and that I can now explain many circumstances which, at the time of their occurrence, seemed difficult to be understood. I can now very well comprehend that which struck us so forcibly, and which particularly characterized him in the days of his power; namely,—that no individual ever permanently incurred the displeasure of Napoleon: however marked might be his disgrace, however deep the gulf into which he was plunged, he might still confidently hope to be restored to favour. Those who had once enjoyed intimacy, whatever cause of offence they might give him, never totally forfeited his regard. The Emperor is eminently gifted with two excellent qualities;—a vast fund of justice, and a disposition naturally open to

attachment. Amidst all his fits of petulance or anger, a sentiment of justice still predominates. He is sure to turn an attentive ear to good arguments, and, if left to himself, candidly brings them forward whenever they occur to his mind. He never forgets services performed to him, nor habits he has contracted. Sooner or later he invariably casts a thought on those who may have incurred his displeasure; he reflects on what they have suffered, and regards their punishment as sufficient. He recalls them, when they are perhaps forgotten by the world; and they again enjoy his good graces, to the astonishment of themselves as well as of others. Of this there have been many instances. The Emperor is sincere in his attachments, without making a show of what he feels. When once he becomes used to a person, he cannot easily bear separation. He observes and condemns his faults, blames his own choice, expressing his displeasure in the most unreserved way; but still there is nothing to fear: these are but so many new ties of regard.

It will probably be a matter of surprise, that I should sketch the Emperor's character in so humble a style. All that is usually written about him is so far-fetched; it has been thought necessary to employ antitheses, and brilliant colouring; to seek for effect, and to rack the imagination for high-flown phrases. For my own part,

I merely describe what I see, and express what I feel. This reflection, by the by, comes *à-propos*.

The Emperor was to-day reading with me, in the English papers, a portrait of himself, drawn by the Archbishop of Malines, and worked up with affected antitheses and contrasts. He desired the Grand Marshal to transcribe it word for word. The following are the principal points: "The mind of Napoleon," says the Abbé de Pradt, in his *Embassy to Warsaw in* 1812, "was "vast; but after the manner of the Orientals, and "through a contradictory disposition, it descend-"ed, as it were, by the effect of its own weight, "into the lowest details. His first idea was "always grand, and his second petty. His mind "was like his purse; munificence and meanness "held each a string. His genius, which was at "once adapted to the stage of the world, and the "mountebank's show, represented the royal robe, "joined to the harlequin's jacket. He was the "man of extremes; one, who having commanded "the Alps to bow down, the Simplon to level "its head, and the sea to advance and recede "from its shores, ended by surrendering himself "to an English cruiser. Endowed with wonder-"ful and infinite shrewdness; seizing, creating, "in every question, new and unperceived re-"lations; abounding in lively and picturesque "images, animated and pointed expressions, the

" more forcible from the very incorrectness of his " language, which always bore a sort of foreign " impress; sophistical, subtle, and changeable, " to excess; he adopted different rules of optics " from those by which other men are guided. " Add to this the delirium of success, the habit " of drinking from the enchanted cup, and intox- " icating himself with the incense of the world; " and you may be enabled to form an idea of the " man, who, uniting in his caprices all that is " lofty and mean in human character, majes- " tic in the splendour of sovereignty, and pe- " remptory in command, with all that is ignoble " and base—joining the eve's-dropper to the " subverter of thrones—presents altogether such " a Jupiter Scapin, as never before figured on the " scene of life."

Certainly here is abundance of fancy, and far-fetched ideas. I pass over the indecorous and disgraceful fact, that a reverend prelate, an Archbishop, overwhelmed with the bounty of his Sovereign, to whom, during his prosperity, he paid the most assiduous court, and offered the most abject flattery, should, in the adversity of that sovereign, indulge in language so trivial, grotesque, and insulting, as that above quoted. I shall merely dwell on the merit of the Abbé de Pradt's judgment, when he says that the Emperor's " first idea is always grand, and his second " petty; that he is the man of extremes: one

" who having commanded the Alps to bow down, " the Simplon to level its head, and the sea to " advance and recede from its shores, ended by " surrendering himself to an English cruiser." The Abbé de Pradt formed but a faint idea of the sublimity, grandeur, and magnanimity of that noble step. To withdraw himself from a people who were misled by faithless promises, in order to remove every obstacle to their welfare: to sacrifice his own personal interests, for the sake of averting the evils of a civil war without national results: to disdain honourable and secure, but dependent asylums: to prefer taking refuge among a people to whom he had, for the space of twenty years, been an inveterate foe: to suppose their magnanimity equal to his own: to honour their laws so far as to believe they would protect him from the ostracism of Europe :—certainly such ideas and sentiments are not the reverse of sublime, noble, and great.

N. B. At this part of my journal were inserted several pages, full of details very discreditable to the Archbishop of Malines, which were received from the Emperor's own mouth, or collected from the different individuals about him. I however strike them out, in consideration of the satisfaction which I was informed the Emperor subsequently experienced in perusing M. de Pradt's *Concordats*. For my own part, I am perfectly satisfied with numerous other testimonies of the same nature,

and derived from the same source. An honourable and voluntary acknowledgment is a thousand times better than all the retorts that can be heaped upon an offender. There are persons to whom atonement is not without its due weight; I am one of these.

Just as I had written the above, I happened to read some lines from the pen of the Abbé de Pradt, which are certainly very fine with respect to diction; but which are still finer on account of their justice and truth. I cannot refrain from transcribing them here; as they make ample amends for those already quoted. A declaration of the Allied Sovereigns at Laybach, in which Napoleon was, in terms of reprobation, pronounced to be the representative of the Revolution, called forth the following observations from the Archbishop of Malines:—

"It is too late to insult Napoleon, now that he "is defenceless, after having for so many years "crouched at his feet, while he had the power to "punish. . . . Those who are armed should respect "a disarmed enemy, and the glory of the con-"queror in a great measure depends on the just "consideration shewn towards the captive, par-"ticularly when he yields to superior force, not to "superior genius. It is too late to call Napoleon "a revolutionist, after having for such a length of "time pronounced him to be the restorer of order "in France, and consequently in Europe. It is

" odious to see the shaft of insult aimed at him by " those who once stretched forth their hands to " him as a friend, pledged their faith to him as an " ally, sought to prop a tottering throne by min- " gling their blood with his." Farther on he says: " *He the representative of the revolution!* The re- " volution broke the bonds of union between " France and Rome: he renewed them. The " revolution overthrew the temples of the Al- " mighty: he restored them. The revolution " created two classes of clergy hostile to each " other: he united them. The revolution pro- " faned Saint-Denis: he purified it, and offered " expiation to the ashes of Kings. The revo- " lution subverted the throne: he raised it up. " The revolution banished from their country the " nobility of France: he opened to them the " gates of his palace, though he knew them to be " his irreconcilable enemies, and for the most part " the enemies of the public good; he re-incorpo- " rated them with the society from which they " had been separated. This *representative of a* " *revolution* (which is distinguished by the epithet " anti-social) brought from Rome the head of " the Catholic Church, to anoint his brow with " the oil that consecrates diadems! This *re-* " *presentative of a revolution* (which has been de- " clared hostile to sovereignty) filled Germany " with kings, advanced the rank of princes, re- " stored superior royalty, and re-constructed a

" defaced model. This *representative of a re-*
" *volution* (which is condemned as a principle
" of anarchy), like another Justinian, drew
" up, amidst the din of war and the snares of
" foreign policy, those codes which are the
" least defective portion of human legislature,
" and constructed the most vigorous machine
" of government in the whole world. This
" *representative of a revolution* (which is vul-
" garly accused of having subverted all institu-
" tions) restored universities and public schools,
" filled his empire with the master pieces of art,
" and accomplished those amazing and stupen-
" dous works, which reflect honour on human
" genius: and yet, in the face of the Alps, which
" bowed down at his command; of the ocean,
" subdued at Cherbourg, at Flushing, at the Hel-
" der, and at Antwerp; of rivers, smoothly flow-
" ing beneath the bridges of Jena, Serres, Bour-
" deaux, and Turin; of canals, uniting seas together
" in a course beyond the control of Neptune;
" finally, in the face of Paris, metamorphosed as
" it is by Napoleon,—he is pronounced to be the
" agent of general annihilation! He who restored
" all, is said to be the *representative* of that which
" destroyed all! To what undiscerning men is
" this language supposed to be addressed? &c."

My situation materially improved. — My bed-chamber changed, &c.

17th.—The Emperor summoned me at two o'clock, when he began to dress. On entering, he observed that I looked pale: I replied, that it might be owing to the atmosphere of my chamber, which, from its proximity to the kitchen, was an absolute oven, being frequently filled with smoke. He then expressed a wish that I should constantly occupy the topographic cabinet, in which I might write during the day, and sleep at night, in a bed which the Admiral had fitted up for the Emperor himself, but which he did not make use of, as he preferred his own camp-bed. When he had finished dressing, and was choosing between two or three snuff-boxes which lay before him, he abruptly gave one to his valet-de-chambre (Marchand): "Keep it," said he, "it is "always meeting my eye, and it vexes me." I know not what was on this snuff-box; but I imagine it was a portrait of the King of Rome.

The Emperor left his apartment, and I followed him: he went over the house, and entered my chamber. Seeing a dressing-glass, he inquired whether it was the one he had given me. Then putting his hand to the wall, which was heated by the kitchen, he again observed that I could not possibly remain in that room, and absolutely insisted on my occupying his bed in the topogra-

phic cabinet; adding, in a tone of captivating kindness, that it was " the bed of a friend." We walked out, and proceeded in the direction of a wretched farm which was within sight. On our way we saw the barracks of the Chinese. These Chinese are men who enlist on board English ships at Macao, and who continue at Saint-Helena in the service of the East India Company for a certain number of years, when they return to their homes, after collecting a little store of money, as the people of Auvergne do in France. The Emperor wished to ask them some questions; but we could not make ourselves understood by them. We next visited what is called Longwood Farm. The Emperor was seduced by the name; he expected to find one of the delightful farms of Flanders or England; but this was merely on a level with our lowest *metairies*. We afterwards went down to the Company's garden, which is formed in the hollow where the two opposite ravines meet. The Emperor called the gardener, and the man who attends to the Company's cattle and superintends the Chinese, of whom he asked many questions. He returned home very much fatigued, though we had scarcely walked a mile: this was his first excursion.

Before dinner the Emperor summoned me and my son to our accustomed task. He said, I had been idle, and called my attention to my son, who was laughing behind my back. He asked why

he laughed; and I replied, that it was probably because his Majesty was taking revenge for him. "Ah!" said he, smiling, "I see I am here acting "the part of the grandfather."

Habits and hours of the Emperor.—His style to the two Empresses.—Details.—The Emperor's maxims on the subject of the police.—Secret police for the examination of letters.—Curious particulars.—The Emperor favourable to a fixed and moderate system of government.

18th—19th. By degrees our hours and habits began to be fixed and regular. About ten o'clock the Emperor breakfasted in his own chamber, and one of us occasionally attended him. At the table of the household we breakfasted at nearly the same hour. The Emperor granted us permission to do the honours of this table as we pleased, and to invite to it whomsoever we might think fit.

No hours were yet fixed for the Emperor's walks. The heat was very great during the day, and the damp came on speedily, and in great excess, towards evening. We were informed, some time before, that coach and saddle horses were coming from the Cape; but they never arrived. During the day the Emperor was engaged in dictating to different individuals of his suite; and he usually reserved me for the interval preceding dinner, which was not served until eight or nine o'clock. He required my attendance about five

or six o'clock, together with my son. I could neither write nor read, owing to the state of my eyes; but my son was enabled to supply my place. He wrote to the Emperor's dictation, and I was present only to help him afterwards to correct his hasty scrawl; for, by dint of habit, I could repeat, almost literally and entirely, all that had fallen from the Emperor.

The Campaign of Italy being now finished, we began to revise it, and the Emperor corrected, and dictated anew. We dined, as I have before observed, between eight and nine o'clock. The table was laid out in the room nearest the entrance of the house. Madame de Montholon sat on the right of the Emperor; I on his left; and MM. de Montholon, Gourgaud, and my son, sat in the opposite places. The room still smelled of paint, particularly when the weather was damp; and though not very offensive, it was sufficiently annoying to the Emperor: we, therefore, sat no longer than ten minutes at table. The dessert was prepared in the adjoining apartment, which was the drawing-room, and we again seated ourselves round the table. Coffee was then served up, and conversation commenced. We read a few scenes from Moliere, Racine, and Voltaire, and always regretted not having a copy of Corneille. We then played at *reversis*, which had been the Emperor's favourite game in his youth. The recollection was pleasing to him, and he at first

thought he could amuse himself for a length of time at it; but he was soon undeceived. We played at the game and all its varieties; so that I have seen from fifteen to eighteen thousand counters in use at once. The Emperor's aim was always to make the reversis; that is to say, to make every trick, which is no easy matter. However, he frequently succeeded:—character developes itself every where and in every thing! We retired about ten or eleven o'clock.

To-day, the 19th, when I paid my respects to the Emperor, he shewed me a libel upon himself which had fallen into his hands, and asked me to translate it. Amidst a mass of other nonsense, some private letters were mentioned, which were said to have been addressed by Napoleon to the Empress Josephine, under the solemn form of *Madame et chère Epouse.* Allusion was next made to a combination of spies and agents, by whose aid the Emperor peeped into the private affairs of every family in France, and penetrated the secrets of all the cabinets in Europe. The Emperor wished to proceed no farther, and made me lay aside the book, saying;—"It is too ab-"surd!" The fact is, that, in his private correspondence, Napoleon always addressed the Empress Josephine very unceremoniously, by the pronoun "thou" (*tu*); and "my good little Louisa". (*ma bonne petite Louise*) was the form by which he addressed Maria Louisa.

The first time I ever saw the Emperor's running hand, was at Saint-Cloud, after the battle of Friedland, when the Empress Josephine amused herself, by making us try to decypher a note which she held in her hand, and which seemed to be written in hieroglyphics. It was to the following effect:—"My sons have once "more shed a lustre over my career: the victory "of Friedland will be inscribed in history, be- "side those of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena. "You will cause the cannon to be fired *(tu feras "tirer le canon;)* Cambacérès will publish the "bulletin."

I was again favoured with the sight of a note in the Emperor's hand-writing, at the time of the treaty of Tilsit. It contained the following. "The Queen of Prussia is really a charming "woman. She is fond of coquetting with me; "but do not be jealous: I am like a cerecloth, "along which every thing of this sort slides, "without penetrating. It would cost me too "dear to play the gallant."

On this subject, an anecdote was related in the saloon of Josephine. It was said that the Queen of Prussia one day had a beautiful rose in her hand, which the Emperor asked her to give him. The Queen hesitated for a few moments, and then presented it to him, saying: "Why should I so "readily grant what you request, while you re- "main deaf to all my entreaties?" She alluded

to the fortress of Magdeburgh, which she had earnestly solicited. Such was the nature of the intimacy, and such the conversations, that were so unblushingly misrepresented in English works of a certain character, where the Emperor was described as an insolent and brutal tyrant, seeking, with the aid of his ferocious Mamelukes, to violate the honour of the lovely Queen, under the very eyes of her unfortunate husband.

As to the grand machinery of espionage and police, which has been so much talked of, what State on the Continent could boast of having less of such evils than France; and yet what country stood more in need of them? What circumstances more imperiously called for them? Every pamphlet published in Europe, was directed against France, with a view of rendering odious in another country, that which it was thought advisable to conceal at home. Still, however, these measures so necessary in principle, though doubtless hateful in their details, were looked at merely in a general way by the Emperor, and always with a strict observance of his constant maxim, that nothing should be done that is not absolutely indispensable. In the Council of State, I have frequently heard him make enquiries into these subjects; investigate them with peculiar solicitude; correct abuses and seek to obviate evils, and appoint committees of his Council to visit the prisons, and make reports to him. Having

been myself employed in a mission of this nature, I had an opportunity of observing the misconduct and abuses of subaltern agents; and at the same time of knowing the ardent wishes of the sovereign to repress them.

The Emperor found that this branch of the administration in a certain degree clashed with established prejudices and opinions; and he therefore wished to elevate it in the eyes of the people, by placing it under the control of a man whose character was beyond the reach of censure. In the year 1810, he summoned the Counsellor of State, Baron ——, to Fontainebleau. The Baron had been an emigrant, or what nearly amounted to the same thing. His family, his early education, his former opinions,—all were calculated to render him an object of suspicion to one more distrustful than Napoleon. In the course of conversation, the Emperor said:—"If the Count de "Lille were now to discover himself in Paris, and "you were intrusted with the superintendence "of the police, would you arrest him?" "Yes, "certainly," answered the Counsellor of State, "because he would thereby have broken his ban, "and because his appearance would be in oppo-"sition to every existing law." "If you were one "of a committee appointed to try him, would you "condemn him?" "Yes, doubtless; for the laws "which I have sworn to obey would require that "I should condemn him." "Very well!" said

the Emperor, "return to Paris; I make you my "prefect of police."*

With regard to the inspection of letters under the government of Napoleon, whatever may have been publicly said on that subject, the Emperor declared, that certainly very few letters were read at the post-offices. Those which were delivered either open or sealed, to private persons, had, for the most part, not been read: to read all would have been an endless task. The system of examining letters was adopted with the view of preventing, rather than discovering, dangerous correspondence. The letters that were really read, exhibited no trace of having been opened, so effectual were the precautions employed. "Since the reign of Louis XIV," said the Emperor, "there had existed an office of "political police for discovering foreign corre- "spondence; and since that period the same fami- "ly had managed the business of the office, though "the individuals and their functions were alike "unknown. It was in all respects an official post. "The persons superintending this department "were educated at great expense in the different "capitals of Europe. They had their own pecu- "liar notions of propriety, and always manifested "reluctance to examine French domestic corre- "spondence: this matter, however, remained en- "tirely at their own discretion. As soon as the

* See the Letters from the Cape.

" name of any individual was entered upon the " lists of this important department, his arms and " seals were immediately engraved at the office; " and with such a degree of accuracy, that the " letters, after being read, were closed up and " delivered without any mark of suspicion. These " circumstances, joined to the serious evils they " might create, and the important results they " were capable of producing, constituted the vast " responsibility of the office of postmaster-gene- " ral, and required that it should be filled by a man " of prudence, judgment, and intelligence." The Emperor bestowed great praise on M. de Lavalette, for the way in which he had discharged his duties.

The Emperor was by no means favourable to the system of inspecting correspondence. With regard to the diplomatic information thereby obtained, he did not consider it of sufficient value to counterbalance the expenses incurred; for the establishment cost 600,000 francs. As to the examination of the letters of citizens, he regarded that as a measure calculated to do more harm than good. " It is rarely," said he, " that conspiracy " is carried on through such channels; and with " respect to the individual opinions obtained " from epistolary correspondence, they may be " more dangerous than useful to a sovereign, par- " ticularly among such a people as the French. " Of whom will not our national volatility and

" fickleness lead us to complain ? The man whom " I may have offended at my levee, will write " to-day that I am a tyrant, though but yesterday " he overwhelmed me with praises, and perhaps " to-morrow will be ready to lay down his life to " serve me. The violation of the privacy of cor- " respondence may, therefore, cause a prince to " lose his best friends, by wrongfully inspiring " him with distrust and prejudice towards all ; " particularly as enemies capable of mischief " are always sufficiently artful to avoid exposing " themselves to that kind of danger. Some of " my ministers were so cautious in this respect, " that I could never succeed in detecting one of " their letters."

I think I have already mentioned that on the Emperor's return from Elba, there were found in M. de Blacas' apartments in the Tuileries, numerous petitions and letters, in which Napoleon was spoken of most indecorously. " They would " have formed a most odious collection," said the Emperor. " For a moment I entertained the " idea of inserting some of them in the Moniteur. " They would have disgraced certain individuals ; " but they would have afforded no new lesson on " the human heart : men are always the same !"

The Emperor was far from knowing all the measures taken by the police, in his name, with respect to writings and individuals ; he had neither time nor opportunity to enquire into them. Thus

he daily learned from his ministers, or from the pamphlets that happened to fall in his way, the arrests of individuals, or the suppression of works, of which he had never before heard.

In alluding to the works that had been suppressed by the police during his reign, the Emperor observed, that having plenty of leisure-time during his stay at Elba, he amused himself with glancing over some of these works, and that he was frequently unable to conceive the motives that had induced the police to suppress them.

He then proceeded to converse on the subject of the liberty and restriction of the press. This, he said, was an interminable question, and admitted of no medium. The grand difficulty, he observed, did not lie in the principle itself, but in the treatment of the accused party, or the circumstances under which it might be necessary to apply the principle taken in an abstract sense. The Emperor would have been favourable to unlimited liberty. In all our conversations at Saint-Helena, he constantly treated every great question in the same point of view and with the same arguments. Thus Napoleon truly was, and must remain in the eyes of posterity, the type, the standard, and the prince of liberal opinions; they belonged to his heart, to his principles, and to his mind. If his actions sometimes seemed at variance with these ideas, it was when he was imperiously swayed by circumstances. This is proved

by the following fact, to which I now attach more importance than I did when it first came to my knowledge.

In one of the evening-parties at the Tuileries, Napoleon conversing aside with three or four individuals of the court, who were grouped around him, closed a discussion on a great political question with the following remarkable words:—"For my "part, I am fundamentally and naturally favour- "able to a fixed and moderate government." And observing that the countenance of one of the interlocutors expressed surprise, "You don't believe "me!" continued he; "why not? Is it because "my deeds do not seem to accord with my words? "My dear Sir, how little you know of men and "things! Is the necessity of the moment no- "thing in your eyes? Were I to slacken the "reins only for a moment, we should have fine "disorder; neither you nor I would probably "sleep another night at the Tuileries."

The Emperor's first Ride on Horseback.—Severity of the Ministerial Instructions.—Our vexations and complaints.—The Emperor's Remarks.—Rude replies.

20th—23d. The Emperor mounted his horse after breakfast. We directed our course towards the farm: we found the farmer in the Company's garden, and he attended us over the whole of the grounds. The Emperor asked him a number of questions respecting his farm, as he used to do

during his hunting-excursions in the neighbourhood of Versailles, where he discussed with the farmers the opinions of the Council of State, in order to bring forward to the Council in their turn the objections of the farmers. We advanced through the grounds of Longwood, in a line parallel with the valley, until finding no farther road for the horses we were compelled to turn back. We then crossed the little valley, gained the height where the troops were encamped, advanced to the Alarm hill, and passing over its summit we arrived beyond the camp, near the Alarm house, on the road leading from Longwood to Madame Bertrand's residence. The Emperor at first proposed calling on her; but, when about half-way thither, he changed his mind, and we returned to Longwood.

The instructions of the English Ministers with regard to the Emperor at Saint-Helena, were dictated in that disgraceful spirit of harshness, which in Europe had urged the solemn violation of the law of nations. An English officer was to be constantly at the Emperor's table; this cruel measure was of course calculated to deprive us of the comfort of familiar conversation. The order was not carried into effect, only because the Emperor took his meals in his own chamber. I have very good reason to believe, that he regretted not having adopted the same resolution on board the Northumberland. An English offi-

cer was to accompany the Emperor in his rides on horseback: this was a severe annoyance, which rendered it impossible that his mind could for a moment be diverted from his unfortunate situation. This order was not, however, enforced within certain limits which were prescribed to us, because the Emperor had declared that he would not ride on horseback at all on such conditions.

In our melancholy situation, every day brought with it some new cause of uneasiness: we were constantly receiving some new sting, which seemed the more cruel, as we were destined to endure it for a long futurity. Yet, lacerated as our feelings undoubtedly were, each fresh wound was not the less sensibly felt. The motives that were assigned for our vexations frequently assumed the appearance of irony. Thus, sentinels were posted beneath the Emperor's windows, and before our doors; and this we were informed was for our own safety. We were cut off from all free communication with the inhabitants of the island; we were put under a kind of close confinement; and were told that this was done to free the Emperor from all annoyance. The pass-words and orders were incessantly changed; we lived in the continual perplexity and apprehension of being exposed to some unforeseen insult. The Emperor, whose feelings were keenly alive to all these things, resolved to write to the Ad-

miral, through the medium of M. de Montholon. He spoke with warmth, and made some observations worthy of remark. "Let not the Admiral "suppose," said he, "that I treat with him on "any of these subjects. Were he to present "himself to me to-morrow, in spite of my just "resentment, he would find my countenance as "serene, and my temper as composed, as usual. "This would not be the effect of dissimulation on "my part, but merely the fruit of experience. I "recollect that Lord Whitworth once filled Eu- "rope with the report of a long conversation that "he had had with me, scarcely a word of which "was true. But that was my fault; and it "taught me to be more cautious in future. The "Emperor has governed too long not to know "that he must not commit himself to the dis- "cretion of any one who may have it in his power "to say falsely: *The Emperor told me so and so;* "while the Emperor may not have the means of "either affirming or contradicting the statement. "One witness is as good as another. It is, there- "fore, necessary to employ some one, who may "be enabled to tell the narrator that he speaks "false, and that he is ready to set him right; "which the Emperor himself cannot do."

M. de Montholon's letter was couched in sharp terms; the reply was insulting and coarse: "*No such thing as an Emperor was known at St.-Helena; the justice and moderation of the English government*

towards us, would be the admiration of future ages, &c." Dr. O'Meara was instructed to accompany this written reply with verbal additions of the most offensive nature: to enquire, for example, whether the Emperor wished that the Admiral should send him sundry atrocious libels and anonymous letters which had been received, addressed to him, &c.

I was engaged with the Emperor at the time this answer was communicated to him. I could not conceal my astonishment and indignation at certain expressions that were employed. But we could only let philosophy take place of resentment; it was sufficient to reflect that all satisfaction was beyond our reach. To address a direct complaint to the Prince Regent, would perhaps have been to furnish a gratification to that Prince; as well as a recommendation to him who had offended us. Besides, the Emperor could not address complaints to any individual on earth: he could appeal only to the tribunals of heaven, nations, and posterity.

On the 23d the Doris frigate arrived from the Cape, bringing seven horses that had been purchased there for the Emperor.

The Emperor's disdain of popularity, his reasons, arguments, &c.—Conversation respecting my Wife.—On General Gourgaud's Mother and Sister.

24th.—The Emperor had been reading some publication in which he was made to speak in too

amiable a strain; and he could not help exclaiming against the mistake of the writer. "How could "they put these words into my mouth?" said he. "This is too tender, too sentimental for me; every "one knows that I do not express myself in that "way."—"Sire," I replied, "it was done with a "good intention; the thing is innocent in itself, "and may have produced a good effect. That "reputation for amiability, which you seem to "despise, might have exercised great influence "over public opinion; it might at least have counteracted the effect of the colouring in which a "European system has falsely exhibited your "Majesty to the world. Your heart, with which "I am now acquainted, is certainly as good as "that of Henri IV, which I did not know. Now, "his amiableness of character is still proverbial: "he is still held up as an idol; yet I suspect "Henri IV. was a bit of a quack. And why "should your Majesty have disdained to be so? "You have too great an aversion to that system. "After all, quackery rules the world: and it is "fortunate when it happens to be only innocent."

The Emperor laughed at what he termed my prosing. "What," said he, "is the advantage of "popularity and amiability of character? Who "possessed those qualities in a more eminent "degree than the unfortunate Louis XVI? Yet "what was his fate? His life was sacrificed!—No! "a sovereign must serve his people with dignity,

" and not make it his chief study to please them. " The best mode of winning their love, is to secure " their welfare. Nothing is more dangerous than " for a sovereign to flatter his subjects: if they " do not afterwards obtain every thing they want, " they become irritated, and fancy that promises " have been broken; and if they are then resisted, " their hatred increases in proportion as they " consider themselves deceived. A sovereign's " first duty is doubtless to conform with the " wishes of the people; but what the people say " is scarcely ever what they wish: their desires " and their wants cannot be learned from their " own mouths so well as they are to be read in the " heart of their prince.

" Each system may, no doubt, be maintained; " that of mildness as well as that of severity. Each " has its advantages and its disadvantages; for " every thing is mutually balanced in this world. " If you ask me what was the use of my severe " forms and expressions, I shall answer, to spare " me the pain of inflicting the punishment I " threatened. What harm have I done, after all? " What blood have I shed? Who can boast that, " had he been placed in my situation, he could " have done better? What period of history, " exhibiting any thing like the difficulties with " which I was surrounded, presents such harm- " less results? What am I reproached with? My " government archives and my private papers

" were seized; yet what has there been found to " publish to the world? All sovereigns, situated " as I was, amidst factions, disorders, and conspi- " racies, are surrounded by murders and execu- " tions? Yet, during my reign, what sudden tran- " quillity pervaded France!—You are, no doubt, " astonished at this chain of reflection," continued he, smiling, " you, who frequently display the " mildness and simplicity of a child."

I could not but admit the force of his arguments, and now, in my turn, maintained that both systems might have their peculiar advantages. " Every individual," said I, " should form for " himself a character by means of education; but " he should be careful, at the same time, to lay " its foundation on the character he has received " from Nature; otherwise he runs a risk of los- " ing the advantages of the latter, without ob- " taining those of the character which he wishes " to acquire; and his education may prove an " instrument to mislead him. After all, the " course of a man's life is the true result of his " character, and the proper test by which it " should be judged. Of what, then, can I have " to complain? From the lowest degree of mi- " sery, I raised myself by my own efforts to to- " lerable independence; and from the streets of " London, I penetrated to the steps of your " throne, and to the benches of your Council- " chamber; all this, too, without having cause

" to blush in the presence of any individual for " any thing that I have ever spoken, written, or " done. Have I not, then, also performed my " little wonders in my own little way? What " could I have done better had another turn been " given to my character?"

The conversation was here interrupted by some one entering, to announce that the Admiral and some ladies, who had arrived by the Doris, solicited the favour of being presented to the Emperor; but he answered drily, that he would see no one, and that he did not wish to be disturbed.

Under our present circumstances, the personal politeness of the Admiral was felt only as an additional insult; and with regard to those who accompanied him, as no one could approach us but with the Admiral's permission, the Emperor did not choose that the honours of his person should be thus performed. If it were intended that he should remain in close confinement, he ought to be told so; but if not, he should be allowed to see whom he pleased without the interference of any person. Above all, it was not fair that they should pretend in Europe to surround him with every sort of attention and respect, while on the contrary they were annoying him with every kind of indecorum and caprice.

The Emperor walked out in the garden at five o'clock. The Colonel of the 53d regiment waited on him there, and begged permission to present

to him, next day, the officers of his regiment. The Emperor granted his request, and appointed three o'clock as the hour to receive them. The General took his leave, and we prolonged our walk. The Emperor stopped awhile to look at a flower in one of the beds, and asked me whether it was not a lily. It was, indeed, a magnificent one.

After dinner, while we were playing our usual game of reversis, of which, by the by, the Emperor began to grow weary, he suddenly turned to me and said, "Where do you suppose Madame "Las Cases is at this moment?" "Alas, Sire," I replied, "Heaven knows!" "She is in Paris," continued he; "to-day is Tuesday; it is nine "o'clock; she is now at the Opera." "No, Sire, "she is too good a wife to go to a theatre while I "am here." "Spoken like a true husband," said the Emperor, laughing, "ever confident and cre- "dulous!" Then turning to General Gourgaud, he joked him in the same style on his mother and sister. Gourgaud seemed very much downcast, and his eyes were suffused with tears, which the Emperor perceiving, cast a side-glance towards him, and said, in the most interesting manner, "How wicked, barbarous, and tyrannical I am, "thus to trifle with feelings so tender!"*

* General Gourgaud entertained the greatest affection for his mother and sister, and was equally beloved by them. To such

The Emperor then asked me how many children I had, and when and how I had become acquainted with Madame Las Cases. I replied that my wife had been the first acquaintance of my life; that our marriage was a tie which we had ourselves formed in early youth, though it was not finally knit until the greater part of the events of the Revolution had passed away.

The Emperor frequently wounded in his campaigns.—Cossacks.—Jerusalem Delivered.

25th.—The Emperor, who had not been well the preceding evening, was still indisposed this morning, and sent word that it would be impossible for him to receive the Officers of the 53d, as he had appointed. He sent for me about the middle of the day, and we again perused some chapters of the Campaign of Italy. I compared that which treats of the battle of Arcola, to a book of the Iliad.

Some time before the dinner-hour, he assembled us all around him in his chamber. A ser-

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a length did he carry his regard for them, that in his letters he even described Saint-Helena as a delightful place, in order to ease their anxiety on his account. In his letters he talked of nothing but groves of orange and lemon-trees, and perpetual Spring; in short, every thing that a romantic imagination could suggest. The English ministers, however, blushed not subsequently to turn against him these innocent misrepresentations, the offspring of his filial solicitude!

vant entered to announce that dinner was ready; he sent us away, but, as I was going out last, he called me back. "Stay here," said he, "we will "dine together. Let the young people go; we "old folks will keep one another company." He then expressed a desire to dress, intending, as he said, to go into the drawing-room after dinner.

While he was dressing, he put his hand on his left thigh, where there was a deep scar. He called my attention to it by laying his finger in it; and, finding that I did not understand what it was, he told me that it was the mark of a bayonet-wound by which he had nearly lost his limb, at the siege of Toulon. Marchand, who was dressing him, here took the liberty of remarking, that the circumstance was well known on board the Northumberland; that one of the crew had told him, on going on board, that it was an Englishman who first wounded our Emperor.

The Emperor, on this, observed that people had in general wondered and talked a great deal of the singular good fortune which had preserved him, as it were, invulnerable in so many battles. "They were mistaken," added he; "the "only reason was, that I made a secret of all "my dangers." He then related that he had had three horses killed under him at the siege of Toulon; that he had had several killed and wounded in his campaigns of Italy; and three or four

at the siege of Saint-Jean d'Acre. He added, that he had been wounded several times; that at the battle of Ratisbonne, a ball had struck his heel; and at the battle of Esling or Wagram, I cannot say which, a ball had torn his boot and stocking, and grazed the skin of his left leg. In 1814, he lost a horse and his hat at Arcis-sur-Aube, or its neighbourhood. After the battle of Brienne, as he was returning to head-quarters in the evening, in a melancholy and pensive mood, he was suddenly attacked by some Cossacks, who had passed over the rear of the army. He thrust one of them away, and was obliged to draw his sword in his own defence; several of the Cossacks were killed at his side. "But what renders this circumstance "very extraordinary," said he, "is, that it took "place near a tree which at that moment caught "my eye, and which I recognised as the very one "under which, when I was but twelve years old, "I used to sit during play-hours and read Jeru-"salem Delivered." . . . . Doubtless on that spot Napoleon had been first fired by emotions of glory!

The Emperor repeated that he had been frequently exposed to danger in his different battles, but it was carefully kept secret. He had enjoined, once for all, the most absolute silence on all circumstances of that nature. He said, it would be impossible to calculate the confusion and disorder which might have resulted from the slightest re-

port or the smallest doubt relative to his existence. On his life depended the fate of a great Empire, and the whole policy and destinies of Europe. He added, that this habit of keeping circumstances of that kind secret, had prevented him from relating them in his campaigns; and indeed they were now almost forgotten. It was only, he said, by mere accident, and in the course of conversation, that they could recur to him.

My conversation with an Englishman.

26th.—The Emperor continued indisposed.

One of the English gentlemen, whose wife had yesterday been refused admittance, in company with the Admiral, paid me a visit this morning, with the view of making another and a final attempt to get presented to Napoleon. This gentleman spoke French very well, having resided in France during the whole of the war. He was one of those individuals who were known at the time by the title of *detenus:* who, having visited France as travellers, were arrested there by the First Consul, on the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, as a reprisal for the English Government having, according to custom, seized our merchant-ships before the declaration of war. This event gave rise to a long and animated discussion between the two Governments; and even prevented, during the whole of the war, a cartel for the exchange of

prisoners. The English ministers persisted in refusing to consider their detained countrymen as prisoners, lest they should, in so doing, make an implicit renunciation of their sort of *right of piracy*. However, their obstinacy cost their countrymen a long captivity. They were detained in France more than ten years; their absence was as long and as irksome, though not so glorious, as the siege of Troy.

This English gentleman was a brother-in-law of Admiral Burton, the Commander on the Indian station, who lately died. This circumstance might very possibly procure for him an immediate communication with Ministers on his arrival in England. He might perhaps have been appointed by the Admiral to be the bearer of intelligence respecting us. Instead, therefore, of abridging our conversation, I prolonged it. It lasted more than two hours, and was all calculated on my part with a view to what he might repeat to the Admiral, or communicate to the Government or private circles in England. I am glad I did so. All I said was a recapitulation of our reproaches and griefs; a repetition of our complaints and vexations; a continued exposure of the violation of those laws that are esteemed most sacred; of the outrage on our good faith; of the arrogance, impertinence, and petty insolence of power. I dwelt particularly on the ill-treatment to which we were here exposed; and on

the caprices of the individual who was appointed as our keeper: " His glory," said I, " should " consist, not in oppressing, but in relieving us. " He should endeavour to make us forget, by his " attentions, all the rigour and injustice of his " country's policy. Could he have to fear the " reprobation of mankind, while his good fortune " enabled him gloriously to connect his name " with that of the man of the age, the hero of " history? Could he pretend that his instructions " would prevent him?—Our European manners " enabled him to interpret them suitably without " detriment to his honour."

The Englishman listened to me with great attention. He seemed occasionally to take particular interest in what I said; and expressed his approbation of several of my remarks. But was he sincere, and will he not express very different sentiments in London?

Whenever a ship arrives in England from Saint-Helena, the public papers immediately give insertion to various stories relative to the captives at Longwood of so false and absurd a nature, as must necessarily render them ridiculous to the great mass of the public. When we expressed our indignation at these idle reports in the presence of honourable and distinguished Englishmen here, they replied: " Do not deceive yourselves, " these false accounts proceed not from our " countrymen who visit you; but from our

" Ministers in London; for, to the excess and " violence of power, the administration by which " we are now ruled joins all the meanness of the " lowest and vilest intrigue."

On the French Emigrants.—Kindness shewn by the English.—Resources of the Emigrants.

27th.—The Emperor felt himself better, and rode out on horseback about one o'clock. On his return he received the Officers of the 53d, and treated them in the most amiable and condescending manner.

After this visit, the Emperor, who had desired me to remain with him, walked in the garden. I there gave him an account of the conversation I had had the day before with the Englishman. He then asked me some questions relative to the French emigrants, London, and the English. I told him that though the emigrants in a body did not like the English, yet there were few who did not become attached to some Englishman or other: that though the English were not fond of the emigrants, yet there were few English families who did not shew themselves friendly to some of the French. This is the real key of those sentiments and reports, so often contradictory, that are met with on the subject. With regard to the kindness we received from the English, particularly the middle class, from whom the character of a nation is always to be learned, it is beyond all

expression, and has entailed a heavy debt of gratitude upon us. It would be difficult to enumerate the private benefactions, the benevolent institutions, and the charitable measures by which our distresses were relieved. The example of individuals induced the Government to assist us by regular allowances; and even when these were granted, private benevolence did not cease.

The Emperor here asked me whether I had been a sharer in the grants supplied by the English Government: I told him that I felt more pleasure in being indebted for support solely to my own exertions; and that the state of society in England was such, that with this feeling a man was sure to succeed. On two occasions I had had an opportunity of making my fortune? Colbert, Bishop of Rhodez, a native of Scotland, who was very fond of me, proposed that I should accompany his brother to Jamaica, where he was appointed to the head of the executive power, and where he was one of the most considerable planters. He would have intrusted to me the direction of his property, and would have obtained for me other employment of the same kind: The Bishop assured me that I should make a fortune in three years. I could not, however, prevail on myself to go; I preferred continuing a life of poverty, to removing to a greater distance from the French shore.

"On another occasion," continued I, "some "friends wished to persuade me to go to India, "where I should have obtained employment and "patronage, and where I was assured that in a short "time I should realize a considerable fortune. "But this I declined. I thought myself too old "to travel so far. This was twenty years ago; "and I am now at Saint-Helena.

"However, there were few who had suffered "greater hardships than I did at the commence- "ment of my emigration, and who enjoyed greater "comforts towards its close. I have often, at "night, found myself in want of the means of sub- "sistence for the following day; still I was never "discouraged or dejected. I consoled myself "with the treasure of philosophy, and compared "my own condition with that of numbers "around me, who were more wretched than my- "self: to old men and women, for example, to "those who were destitute of education, or who, "wanting the faculties requisite for acquiring a "foreign language, were thus cut off from all "resources. I was young, full of hope, and "capable of exertion. I taught what I did not "well know myself, and I learned overnight "what I might have to teach on the succeeding "day. My Historical Atlas was a fortunate idea, "which opened to me a mine of gold. At that "period, however, I had executed only an outline "of my plan; but in London every thing is en-

"couraged, every thing sells; and, moreover, "Heaven blessed my exertions. I landed at the "mouth of the Thames, and reached London on "foot with only seven louis in my pocket, with-"out a friend, without an introduction in a foreign "land; but I left England in a post-chaise, pos-"sessed of 2500 guineas, having gained many "dear friends, to serve whom I would gladly "have sacrificed my life."

"But, supposing I had been an emigrant," said the Emperor, "what would have been my lot?" He took a view of various professions, but decided in favour of a soldier's life. "I should have "fulfilled my career after all," said he. "That "is not quite certain," I observed. "Sire, you "would have been smothered in the crowd. On "arriving at Coblentz in any French corps, you "would have been placed according to your rank "on the list, without any possibility of getting "beyond it; for we were rigid observers of "forms," &c.

The Emperor then enquired when and how I had returned to France. "After the peace of "Amiens," said I, "availing myself of the bene-"fit of your amnesty; (yet) I joined an English "family, and slipped in in a sort of contraband "way, in order to reach Paris earlier than I "otherwise could have done. Immediately on "my arrival thither, fearing lest I should com-"promise that family, I went in person to make

" my declaration to the police, and received a " paper which I was to present for inspection " once a week or once a month. I paid no at- " tention to it; but nothing occurred to me " through my neglect. I had determined on " conducting myself with prudence, and therefore " felt satisfied that I had nothing to fear. At one " time, however, I saw that my intention might " have cost me dear: it was during the most " violent crisis of the affair of Georges and Pi- " chegru. I usually passed my evenings in the " society of intimate friends in my own house; " I scarcely ever went out. On this occasion, " however, impelled by fate, or, perhaps, by the " strong interest which I took in passing events, " I strolled about in the Faubourg Saint-Germain " till rather a late hour in the evening. I missed " the way to the Pont de Louis XIV. which I " knew so well, and came out upon the Boule- " vard des Invalids, without knowing where I " was. The posts were everywhere increased in " number, and each consisted of a double guard. " I enquired my way of one of the sentinels, and " I distinctly heard his comrade, who was a few " yards off, ask him why he had not stopped me; " he answered that I was doing no harm. I " hastened home as fast as I could, terrified at " the danger I had so narrowly escaped. I was " in formal contravention with regard to the po- " lice: the circumstances of my emigration, my

" name, my habits, and my opinions, all tended " to identify me with the malcontents. Every " enquiry that could have been instituted re- " specting me would have been to my prejudice. " I could not have referred to any one; and what " alarmed me still more was, that they would " have found five guineas in my pocket. I had, " it is true, been in France two years; but these " guineas were the last fruits of my industry; " I always carried them about me, and I have " them with me still. I used to take a pleasure " in seeing them; they reminded me of a period " of misfortune which had gone by. It is easy " to conceive the conclusions which might have " been drawn from so many concurring circum- " stances. In vain would have been my denials " and assertions; no credit would have been " given to me. I should, no doubt, have suffered " considerably; and yet I was not in the least to " blame: such is the justice of men! I never took " the trouble to arrange my business with the " police; and yet I never got into any trouble.

" When I was presented at your Majesty's " court, the emigrants, who like myself had been " placed under the superintendence of the police " for ten years, applied for their emancipation, " which they procured; for my part, I made no " application of any sort. Being invited, in your " Majesty's name, to a fête at Fontainebleau, I " thought it would be a good joke to apply to the

" police for a passport. They agreed that it was, " strictly speaking, necessary, but declined giv- " ing it, on the ground that the thing would be " ridiculous. At a subsequent period, having " become your Majesty's Chamberlain, I had oc- " casion to go on a private journey; and they then " exempted me from all future formality.

" On your Majesty's return in 1815, being de- " sirous of serving some emigrants who had re- " turned with the King, I went in their name to " the police. Being a Counsellor of State, all " the registers were open to me. After having " inspected the article relating to my friends, I " felt a curiosity to refer to my own. I found " myself noted down as a distinguished courtier " of the Comte d'Artois, in London. I could not " help reflecting on the differences of times, and " the changes produced by revolution. How- " ever, my register was altogether incorrect. I " certainly visited the Comte d'Artois; but not " oftener than once a month. As to my being a " courtier, if I had been ever so much inclined to " be one, the thing was out of my power. I had " to provide for my daily subsistence, and I had " pride enough to wish to live by my own in- " dustry; my time was therefore valuable." The Emperor was very much pleased with my story, and I was happy to have afforded him some amusement.

The frigate Doris sailed this day for Europe.

28th.—Mr. Balcombe's family called, in the hope of seeing the Emperor, but he was again indisposed. His health declines: this place is evidently unfavourable to him. He sent for me at three o'clock: he was slightly feverish, but felt himself better. He complained a good deal of the noise occasioned by the domestic arrangements of the house, which frequently annoyed him. He then dressed, with the intention of going out. I persuaded him to resume his flannel under-waistcoat, which he had laid aside very imprudently in this damp and variable climate.—We took a walk in the garden, and the conversation continued to turn on the same subject as before. The Emperor strolled about at random, and we came to the gum-trees which run along the park, conversing on our local situation, and our relations with the authorities, and speculating on the political events of Europe. We were overtaken by a shower of rain, and were forced to take shelter under a tree. The Grand Marshal and M. de Montholon soon joined us. The Emperor made me return with him; and when we got home, he played a game at piquet in the drawing-room with Madame de Montholon. As it was very damp, the Emperor ordered a fire; but as soon as it was lighted, we were driven away by the smoke, and were compelled to take refuge in the Emperor's chamber. Here the game was resumed; but it was very soon suspended by the Em-

peror's conversation, which became most interesting. He entertained us with anecdotes and minute details of his domestic life; and confirmed, corrected, or contradicted those which Madame de Montholon and myself related to him, as having been publicly circulated. Nothing could be more gratifying: the conversation was quite confidential, and we sincerely regretted its interruption by the announcement of dinner.

Difficult Excursion.—Ride to the valley.—The Marsh.—Characteristic traits.—Englishmen undeceived.—Poison of Mithridates.

29th.—There is a spot in the grounds about Longwood, which commands a distant view of that part of the sea where the ships are first seen on their arrival: here, too, there is a tree, the foot of which affords a comfortable seat for the spectator. I had been in the habit, for some days past, of spending a few idle moments here, amusing myself, in idea, with looking out for the ship that was to conclude our exile. The celebrated Munich lingered out twenty years in the heart of Siberia, drinking every day to his return to Saint-Petersburgh; and was at length blessed with the accomplishment of his wish. I shall possess his courage; but I trust I shall not have occasion for his patience.

Ships had successively appeared for several days. Three came in sight very early this morn-

ing, two of which I judged to be ships of war.—On my return home, I was informed that the Emperor had already risen: I went to the garden to meet him, and to acquaint him with my discovery. He ordered breakfast to be brought to him under a tree, and desired me to keep him company. After breakfast, he directed me to ride out with him on horseback. We rode along by the side of the gum-trees, beyond the confines of Longwood, and then attempted to descend into a very steep and deeply-furrowed valley, whose sides were covered with sand and loose stones, interspersed with brambles. We were obliged to dismount. The Emperor desired General Gourgaud to turn off to one side with the horses and the two grooms who accompanied us, and insisted on continuing his journey on foot, amidst the difficulties which surrounded us. I gave him my arm, and, with a great deal of trouble, we succeeded in clambering over the ridges. The Emperor lamented the loss of his youthful agility, and accused me of being more active than himself. He thought there was a greater difference in this respect than the trifling disproportion of our ages would justify. I told him that the pleasure of serving him made me forget my age. As we were going along, he observed, that any one who could have seen us at that time would recognise without difficulty the restlessness and impatience of the French character. "In fact,"

said he, " none but Frenchmen would ever think " of doing what we are now about." At length we arrived, breathless, at the bottom of the valley. What we had at a distance mistaken for a beaten road, proved to be nothing but a little streamlet, a foot and a half wide. We proposed to step across it and wait for our horses; but the banks of this little streamlet were very deceptive. They appeared to consist of dry ground, which at first supported us, but we soon found ourselves suddenly sinking as though we had been breaking through ice. I had already sunk above my knees, when by a sudden effort I disengaged myself, and turned to assist the Emperor, who had both legs in the mud, and had got his hands on the ground, endeavouring to extricate himself. With a great deal of trouble and a great deal of dirt, we regained the *terra firma;* and I could not help thinking of the marshes of Arcola, which we had been engaged in describing a few days before, and in which Napoleon was very near being lost. The Emperor looked at his clothes and said, " Las Cases, this is a dirty adventure." " If we " had been lost in the mud," added he, " what " would have been said in Europe? The canting " hypocrites would have proved beyond a doubt, " that we had been swallowed up for our " crimes."

The horses being at length brought to us, we continued our journey, breaking through hedges,

and leaping over ridges; and with a great deal of difficulty we rode up the whole length of the valley, which separates Longwood from Diana's Peak. We returned back by the way of Madame Bertrand's residence; it was three o'clock when we reached home. We then learned that the vessels which had been seen in the morning were a brig and a transport from England, and an American ship.

The Emperor sent for me about seven o'clock; he was with the Grand Marshal, who was reading to him the newspapers from the 9th to the 16th of October. He had not done reading at nine o'clock. The Emperor, astonished to find it so late, hastily rose and went up to the table, complaining of being kept waiting for his dinner. They were stupid enough to give a very ridiculous reason for the delay. This domestic irregularity irritated him very much; and then he was angry with himself for feeling offended; so the dinner passed off in dulness and silence.

However, on returning to the drawing-room for the dessert, the Emperor began to converse on the news which the papers had brought us: the conditions of peace, the fortresses ceded to foreign powers, and the fermentation of the great cities of Europe. He treated these subjects in a masterly style. He retired early; and had evidently not forgotten the circumstance which annoyed him at dinner.

He soon sent for me, being desirous to continue the perusal of the papers. As I was preparing to read, he recollected the state of my eyes, and would not allow me. I begged to be permitted to continue, telling him that I read quickly, and should soon have finished them; but he took them away from me, saying, "Na-" ture will not obey our commands. I forbid it; "I will wait till to-morrow." He then began to walk about a little, and soon gave utterance to the feelings which had oppressed his spirits. How amiable he appeared in his reproaches and complaints! How just and true was every observation that escaped him! These were a few of the precious moments when Nature taken by surprise, exposes the inmost recesses of the human heart and character. I left him, saying within myself, as I have so often had occasion to say; "Good God, how little has the character of the "Emperor been known to the world!"

They are beginning here to form a more just opinion of him, however. Those Englishmen whose violent prejudices against him were in a great degree excusable from the false accounts they had received, begin now to entertain a more correct idea of his character. They allow that they are strangely undeceived every day, and that the Emperor is a very different being from that Napoleon whose image had been traced to them through the medium of falsehood and political

interests. All those who have had opportunities of seeing and hearing him converse, have but one opinion on the subject. The Admiral has more than once, in the midst of our disputes with him, hastily exclaimed that the Emperor was decidedly the most good-natured, just, and reasonable of the whole set. And here the Admiral was in the right.

On another occasion, an Englishman, whom we frequently saw, confessed to Napoleon, with the utmost humility of heart, and as it were by way of expiation, that he had to reproach his conscience with having once firmly believed all the abominable falsehoods related of him. He had given credit to all the accounts of stranglings, massacres, and brutal ferocity; in short, he even believed in the deformities of his person, and the hideous features of his countenance. "And," said he candidly, "how could I help crediting all this? Our Eng-"lish publications were filled with these state-"ments; they were in every mouth; not a single "voice was raised to contradict them." "Yes," said Napoleon, smiling, "it is to your Ministers "that I am indebted for these favours: they "inundated Europe with pamphlets and libels "against me. Perhaps they might say in excuse, "that they did but reply to those which they "received from France; and it must in justice be "confessed that those Frenchmen who have since "been seen to exult over the ruins of their coun-

" try, felt no hesitation in furnishing them with " such articles in abundant supplies.

" Be this as it may, I was repeatedly urged " during the period of my power, to adopt mea- " sures for counteracting this underhand work; " but I always declined it. What advantage " should I have gained by such a defence? It " would have been said that I had paid for it, " and that would only have discredited me still " more. Another victory, another monument,— " these, I said, are the best, the only answers " I can make. Falsehood passes away, and truth " remains! The sensible portion of the pre- " sent age, and posterity in particular, will form " their judgment only from facts. Is it not so? " Already the cloud is breaking; the light is " piercing through, and my character grows " clearer every day. It will soon become the " fashion in Europe to do me justice. Those " who have succeeded me, possess the archives of " my administration and police, and the records " of my tribunals: they hold in their pay, and at " their disposal, those who must have been the " executors, and the accomplices of my atrocities " and crimes; yet, what proofs have they brought " forward? what have they made known?

" The first moments of fury being passed away, " all honest and sensible men will render justice " to my character; none but rogues or fools will " be my enemies. I may rest at ease; the suc-

"cession of events, the disputes of opposing "parties, their hostile productions, will daily "clear the way for the correct and glorious ma- "terials of my history. And what advantage has "been reaped from the immense sums that have "been paid for libels against me? Soon every "trace of them will be obliterated; while my in- "stitutions and monuments will recommend me "to the remotest posterity.

"Now, however, it is too late to heap abuse "upon me. The venom of calumny," said he, repeating an idea which he had before expressed, "has been exhausted on me; it can no longer "injure me; it operates *like the poison on* "*Mithridates.*"

The Emperor ploughing.—The widow's mite.—Interview with the Admiral.—New arrangements.—The Polish Captain Piontkowsky.

30th.—The Emperor desired me to be called before eight o'clock. While he dressed, I finished reading to him the newspapers which I had begun to examine the day before. When dressed, he himself went to the stables, asked for his horse, and rode out with me alone; his attendants not being yet quite ready. We rode on at random, and soon arrived in a field where some labourers were engaged in ploughing. The Emperor alighted from his horse, seized the plough, and, to the great astonishment of the man who was holding it, he himself traced a furrow of considerable

length. He again mounted and continued his ride through various parts of the neighbourhood; and was joined successively by General Gourgaud and the grooms.

On his return, the Emperor expressed a wish to breakfast under a tree in the garden; and desired us to remain with him. During the ride he had mentioned a little present that he intended for us. "It is a trifle, to be sure," observed he; "but "every thing must be proportioned to circum- "stances, and to me this is truly *the widow's mite.*" He alluded to a monthly stipend which he had determined to settle on each of us. It was to be deducted from an inconsiderable sum, which we had contrived to secrete in spite of the vigilance of the English; and this sum was henceforth Napoleon's sole resource. It may well be imagined how precious this trifle had become. I seized the first moment, on finding myself alone with him, to express my opinion on this subject, and to declare my own personal determination to decline his intended bounty. He laughed at this, and as I persisted in my resolution, he said, pinching my ear, "Well, if you don't want it now, keep it for "me; I shall know where to find it when I stand "in need of it."

After breakfast the Emperor went in-doors, and desired me to finish reading the newspapers. I had been some time engaged in reading when M. de Montholon requested to be introduced. He

had just had a long conversation with the Admiral, who was very anxious to see the Emperor. I was directed to suspend my translations from the newspapers, and the Emperor walked about for some time as though hesitating how to proceed; but at length taking up his hat, he went into the drawing-room to receive the Admiral. This circumstance afforded me the highest satisfaction; for I knew that it was calculated to put a period to our state of hostility. I was well assured that two minutes conversation with the Emperor would smooth more difficulties than two days correspondence with any one else. Accordingly I was soon informed, that his convincing arguments, and amiable manners, had produced the wished-for effect. I was assured, that on his departure the Admiral appeared enchanted; as for the Emperor, he was very well pleased at what had taken place; he is far from disliking the Admiral, he is even somewhat prepossessed in his favour. "You may be a very good seaman," said the Emperor to him, "but you know no-"thing at all about our situation. We ask you "for nothing. We can maintain ourselves with-"out all those annoyances and privations; we "can provide for ourselves; but still our esteem "is worth the obtaining." The Admiral referred to his instructions. "But," replied the Emperor, "you do not consider the vast distance that "intervenes between the dictation and the

" execution of those instructions! The very in-
" dividual who issues them in a remote part of
" the world, would oppose them if he saw them
" carried into execution. Besides," continued he, "it is certain that on the least difference, " the least opposition, the slightest expression " of public opinion, the Ministers would disavow " their instructions, or severely blame those who " had not given them a more favourable inter-
" pretation."

The Admiral conducted himself wonderfully well; the Emperor passed high praises on him; all asperities were softened down, and good understanding prevailed. It was agreed that the Emperor should henceforth freely ride about the Island; that the officer who had been instructed to attend him, should merely watch him from a distance, so that the Emperor might not be offended with the sight of a guard; that visitors should be admitted to the Emperor, not with the permission of the Admiral, as the inspector of Longwood, but with that of the Grand Marshal, who did the honours of the establishment.

To-day, our little colony was encreased by the arrival of Captain Piontkowsky, a native of Poland. He was one of those individuals whom we had left behind us at Plymouth. His devotedness to the Emperor, and his grief at being separated from him, had subdued the severity of

the English ministers, and he received permission to proceed to Saint-Helena.

Lieutenant-governor Skelton.

31st.—Lieutenant-governor Skelton and his lady, who had always shewn us great attentions, came to present their respects to the Emperor, who, after an hour's conversation, desired me to translate to the Colonel an invitation to ride out with him on horseback. The invitation was joyfully accepted, and we set out. We passed through the valley which separates us from Diana's Peak, to the great astonishment of the Colonel, to whom this course was perfectly new. He found the ride fatiguing, and in many parts dangerous. The Emperor detained Colonel and Mrs. Skelton to dinner, and entertained them in the most agreeable way.

New-year's-day.—Fowling-pieces, &c.—Colonel Wilks's family.

January 1st—3d, 1816. On new-year's-day we all assembled about ten o'clock in the morning, to present the compliments of the season to the Emperor. He received us in a few moments. We had more need to offer him wishes than congratulations. The Emperor wished that we should breakfast and spend the whole day together. He observed that we were but a handful

in one corner of the world, and that all our consolation must be our regard for each other. We all accompanied the Emperor into the garden, where he walked about until breakfast was ready. At this moment, his fowling-pieces, which had hitherto been detained by the Admiral, were sent back to him. This measure, on the part of the Admiral, was only another proof of the new disposition which he had assumed towards us. The guns could be of no use to the Emperor; for the nature of the ground, and the total want of game, rendered it impossible that he could enjoy even a shadow of diversion in shooting. There were no birds except a few pigeons among the gum-trees, and these had already been killed, or forced to migrate, by the few shots that Gen. Gourgaud and my son had amused themselves in firing.

We observed that measures which seemed to be dictated by the best and kindest intentions on the part of the Admiral, always bore an appearance of restriction and colouring of caprice, which destroyed their effect. Along with the Emperor's fowling-pieces, were two or three guns belonging to individuals of his suite. These were delivered to their owners; but on condition that they should be sent every evening to the tent of the officer on duty. It may well be supposed that this proposition induced us, without hesitation, to decline the favour altogether; and the guns were not

surrendered to us unconditionally, until after a little parleying. And after all what were the important subjects under discussion? A few fowling pieces; and the owners of them were unfortunate men banished from the rest of the world, surrounded by sentinels, and guarded by a whole camp. I mention this circumstance, because, though trifling in itself, it proves better than many others our real situation, and the mode in which we were treated.

On the 3d I breakfasted with Madame Bertrand, whom I was to accompany to dine at the Governor's. From Madame Bertrand's abode to Plantation-House (the Governor's residence), is an hour and a half's journey in a carriage drawn by six oxen, for the use of horses on this road would be dangerous. We crossed or turned five or six passes flanked with precipices several hundred feet high. Four of the oxen were taken from the carriage in the rapid descents, and yoked again in ascending the hills. We stopped when we had got about three parts of the way, to pay a visit to a good old lady of eighty-three years of age, who is very fond of Madame Bertrand's children. 'Her house is very pleasantly situated: she had not been out of it for sixteen years, when, hearing of the Emperor's arrival, she set out for the town, declaring that, if it cost her her life, she was resolved to see him:—She was happy enough to gain her object.

Plantation-House is the best situated, and most agreeable residence in the whole island. The mansion, the garden, the out-offices, all call to mind the residence of a family possessing an income of 25, or 30,000 livres in one of the French provinces. The grounds are cultivated with the greatest attention and taste. A resident at Plantation-House might imagine himself in Europe, without ever suspecting the desolation that prevails over every other part of the Island. Plantation-House is occupied by Colonel Wilks, the Governor, whose authority is now superseded by the Admiral. He is a man of most polished manners; his wife is an amiable woman, and his daughter a charming young lady.

The Governor had invited a party of about thirty. The manners and ceremonies of the company were entirely European. We spent several hours at Plantation-House; and this, we may truly say, has been the only interval of oblivion and abstraction that we have enjoyed since we quitted France. Colonel Wilks evinced particular partiality and kindness to me. We mutually expressed the compliments and sympathy of two authors, pleased with each other's merits. We exchanged our works. The Colonel overwhelmed me with flattering compliments; and those which I returned to him were of the sincerest kind; for his work contains a novel and interesting ac-

count of Hindostan, where he resided for a considerable time in a diplomatic capacity. A spirit of philosophy, a fund of information, joined to singular purity of style, concur to render it a production of first-rate merit. In his political opinions, Colonel Wilks is cool and impartial; he judges calmly and dispassionately of passing events, and is imbued with the sound ideas and liberal opinions of an intelligent and independent Englishman.

As we were on the point of sitting down to dinner, we were, to our great surprise, informed that the Emperor, in company with the Admiral, had just passed very near the gate of Plantation-House; and one of the guests (Mr. Doveton, of Sandy-Bay) observed, that Napoleon had, in the morning, honoured him with a visit, and spent three quarters of an hour at his house.

Life at Longwood.—The Emperor's ride on horseback.—Our nymph.—Nicknames.—On islands, and the defence of them.—Great fortresses; Gibraltar.—Cultivation and laws of the Island.—Enthusiasm, &c.

4th—8th. When I entered the Emperor's apartments to give him an account of our excursion on the preceding day, he took hold of my ear, saying: "Well, you deserted me yesterday; I "got through the evening very well, notwithstand-"ing. Do not suppose that I could not do with-"out you." Delightful words! rendered most

touching by the tone which accompanied them, and by the knowledge I now possess of him by whom they were uttered.

The weather has every day been fine, the temperature dry; the heat intense, but abating suddenly, as usual, towards five or six o'clock.

The Emperor, since his arrival at Longwood, had left off his usual dictations: he passed his time in reading in his cabinet, dressed himself between three and four o'clock, and afterwards went out on horseback, accompanied by two or three of us. The mornings must have appeared to him longer; but his health was the better for it. Our rides were always directed towards the neighbouring valley, of which I have already spoken; we either passed up it, taking the lower part of it first, and returning by the Grand Marshal's house; or, on the contrary, went up that side first, in order to descend it in returning: we even went beyond it once or twice, and crossed other similar valleys. We thus explored the neighbourhood, and visited the few habitations which it contained; the whole of which were poor and wretched. The roads were sometimes impassable; we were even occasionally obliged to get off our horses. We had to clear hedges, to scale stone-walls, which we met with very frequently; but we suffered nothing to stop us.

In these our customary rides we had for some

days fixed on a regular resting-place in the middle of the valley. There, surrounded by desert rocks, an unexpected flower displayed itself: under an humble roof we discovered a charming young girl, of fifteen or sixteen years of age. We had surprised her the first day in her usual costume: it announced any thing but affluence. The following morning we found she had bestowed the greatest pains on her toilette; but our pretty blossom of the fields now appeared to us nothing more than a very ordinary garden-flower. Nevertheless, we henceforth stopped at her dwelling a few minutes every day; she always approached a few paces to catch the two or three sentences which the Emperor either addressed, or caused to be translated to her as he passed by, and we continued our route, discoursing on her charms. From that time she formed an addition to the particular nomenclature of Longwood: she became *our nymph*. Among those who were intimate with him, the Emperor used, without premeditation, to invent new names for every person and object that attracted his notice. Thus the pass through which we were proceeding at the moment of which I am now writing, received the name of the *Valley of Silence;* our host at Briars was our *Amphitryon;* his neighbour, the Major, who was five feet high, was our *Hercules;* Sir George Cockburn was my *Lord Admiral,* as long as we were in good spirits, but, when ill-humour

prevailed, there was no title for him but such as the *shark*, &c.

Our nymph is the identical heroine of the little pastoral with which Doctor Warden has been pleased to embellish his Letters; although I corrected his error, when he gave me the manuscript to read before his departure for Europe, by telling him: "If it is your intention to form a tale, it is "well; but if you wish to depict the truth, you "must alter this entirely." It should seem that he thought his tale possessed far more interest; and he has preserved it accordingly. But to return to our *nymph:* I have been informed, that Napoleon brought her great good fortune. The celebrity which she acquired through him, attracted the curiosity of travellers, and her own charms effected the rest: she is become the wife of a very rich merchant, or captain, in the service of the East India Company.

On returning from our rides, we used to find assembled the persons whom the Emperor had invited to dine with him. He had, successively, the Colonel of the 53d, several of the officers and their ladies, the Admiral, the beautiful and amiable Mrs. Hodson, the wife of our Hercules, whom the Emperor went one day to visit in the valley of Briars, and whose children he had taken so much notice of, &c. &c.

After dinner, the Emperor joined one party at cards, and the rest of the company formed another.

The day the Admiral dined at Longwood, the Emperor, whilst taking his coffee, discoursed for a few minutes upon the affairs of the Island. The Admiral said that the 66th regiment was coming to reinforce the 53d. The Emperor laughed at this; and asked him, if he did not think himself already strong enough. Then continuing his general observations, he said that an additional seventy-four would be of more use than a regiment; that ships of war were the security of an Island; that fortifications produced nothing but delay; that the landing of a superior force was a complete success, although its effects might be deferred for a time; provided, however, the distance did not admit of succour arriving.

The Admiral having asked him which, in his opinion, was the strongest place in the world, the Emperor answered, it was impossible to point it out, because the strength of a place arises partly from its own means of defence, and partly from extraneous and indeterminate circumstances. He, however, mentioned Strasburg, Lille, Metz, Mantua, Antwerp, Malta, and Gibraltar. The Admiral having told him that he had been suspected in England, for some time, of entertaining a design to attack Gibraltar: "We knew better than that," replied the Emperor; "it was our interest to leave "Gibraltar in your possession. It is of no advan-"tage to you; it neither protects nor intercepts "any thing; it is only an object of national pride,

" which costs England very dear, and gives great " umbrage to Spain. It would have been very " injudicious in us to destroy such arrangements."

On the 6th I was invited, with Madame Bertrand and my son, to dine at Briars, where our old host had assembled much company. We returned very late, and not without having been exposed to danger, from the difficulties of the road, and the darkness of the night, which obliged us to perform part of the journey on foot, from consideration for Madame Bertrand.

On the 7th the Emperor received a visit from the Secretary of the Government and one of the members of the Council. He asked them a great many questions, as usual, concerning the cultivation, the prosperity, and the improvements of which the Island might be capable. In 1772 a system had been adopted for furnishing meat at half price to the inhabitants from the magazines of the Company; the consequence of which was, great idleness, and neglect of agriculture. This system was altered five years ago; which, added to other circumstances, has revived emulation, and carried the prosperity of the Island to a pitch far beyond what it ever enjoyed before. It is to be feared that our arrival may prove a mortal blow to this growing prosperity.

Saint-Helena, which is seven or eight leagues in circumference, (about the size of Paris,) is subject to the general laws of England and the local ones

of the Island: these local laws are drawn up by a Council, and are sanctioned in England by the Court of Directors of the East India Company. The Council is composed of a Governor, of two civil members, and a Secretary, who keeps the registers; they are all appointed by the Company, and are subject to be removed at pleasure. The members of the Council are legislators, administrators, and magistrates; they decide without appeal, with the aid of a jury, upon civil and criminal matters. There is neither advocate nor attorney in the Island; the Secretary of the Council legalizes all acts, and is a kind of unique notary. The population of the Island amounts at this moment to about five or six thousand souls, including the blacks and the garrison.

I was walking one afternoon in the garden with the Emperor, when a sailor, about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, with a frank and open countenance, approached us with gestures expressive of eagerness and joy, mingled with apprehension of being perceived from without. He spoke nothing but English, and told me in a hurried manner, that he had twice braved the obstacle of sentinels and all the dangers of severe prohibition, to get a close view of the Emperor. He had obtained this good fortune, he said, looking steadfastly at the Emperor, and should die content; that he offered up his prayers to Heaven that Napoleon might enjoy good health, and be one day

more happy. I dismissed him; and on quitting us, he hid himself again behind the trees and hedges, in order to have a longer view of us. We frequently met with such unequivocal proofs of the good-will of these sailors. Those of the Northumberland, above all, considered themselves as having formed a connexion with the Emperor. While we were residing at Briars, where our seclusion was not so close, they often hovered on a Sunday around us, saying they came to take another look at their shipmate. The day on which we quitted Briars, I was with the Emperor in the garden, when one of the sailors presented himself at the gate, asking me if he might step in without giving offence. I asked him of what country he was, and what religion he professed. He answered by making various signs of the cross, in token of his having understood me, and of fraternity. Then looking steadfastly upon the Emperor, before whom he stood, and raising his eyes to Heaven, he began to hold a conversation with himself, by gestures, which his stout jovial figure rendered partly grotesque and partly sentimental. Nevertheless it would have been difficult to express more naturally, admiration, respect, kind wishes, and sympathy; whilst big tears started in his eyes. "Tell that dear man," said he to me, "that I wish him no harm, but all "possible happiness. So do most of us. Long "life and health to him!" He had a nosegay of

wild flowers in his hand, which he seemed to wish to offer to us; but either his attention was taken up, or he felt restrained by the Emperor's presence, or his own feelings, and he stood wavering, as if contending with himself for some time; then suddenly made us a bow, and disappeared.

The Emperor could not refrain from evincing some emotion at these two circumstances; so strongly did the countenances, accents, and gestures of these two men bear the stamp of truth. He then said, "See the effect of imagination! "How powerful is its influence! Here are people "who do not know me—who have never seen "me; they have only heard me spoken of; and "what do they not feel! what would they not "do to serve me! And the same caprice is to "be found in all countries, in all ages, and in "both sexes! This is fanaticism! Yes, imagina- "tion rules the world!"

Vexatious treatment of the Emperor.—Fresh misunderstandings with the Admiral.

9th.—The grounds round Longwood, within which we have the liberty of taking the air, admit of only half an hour's ride on horseback; which has induced the Emperor, in order to extend his ride, or to occupy more time, to descend into the ravines by very bad, and indeed dangerous ways.

The Island not being thirty miles in circum-

ference, it would have been desirable to have the circuit extended to within a mile of the sea-coast; then we might have had our rides, and even varied them, within a space of fifteen or eighteen miles. The watching of our movements would neither have been more troublesome nor less effectual, had sentinels been placed upon the sea-shore and at the openings of the valleys; or even had they traced all the Emperor's steps by signals. It is true it had been observed to us, that the Emperor was at liberty to go over the whole of the Island under the escort of an English officer; but the Emperor had decided that he would never go out, if deprived of the pleasure of being either entirely by himself, or in the society of his friends only. The Admiral, in his last interview with the Emperor, had with great delicacy settled, that whenever he (the Emperor) wished to go beyond the prescribed limits, he was to inform the English Captain on duty at Longwood of the circumstance; that the latter should go to his post to open the passage for the Emperor; and that the observation, if any, should thenceforth be continued in such a manner that the Emperor, during the remainder of his excursion, whether he entered any house or took advantage of any fine situation for proceeding with his works, might perceive nothing that could for a moment distract his mind from meditation. According to this arrangement, the Emperor proposed this

morning to mount his horse at seven o'clock: he had ordered a slight breakfast to be prepared, and intended to go in the direction of Sandy Bay, to see a spring of water, and to pass the morning amongst some fine vegetation, (an advantage which we did not possess at Longwood); and in this spot he proposed to dictate for a few hours.

Our horses were ready; at the moment when we were about to mount them, I went to acquaint the Captain with our intention, who, to my great astonishment, declared his determination of riding beside us; saying that the Emperor could not take it ill, after all, that an officer would not act the part of a servant by remaining behind alone. I replied that the Emperor doubtless would approve this sentiment; but that he would immediately give up his party of pleasure. "You must," said I, "think it very natural, and by no means a "ground of offence, that he feels a repugnance to "the company of a person who is guarding him." The officer evinced much concern, and told me that his situation was extremely embarrassing. "Not at all so," I observed to him, "if you only "execute your orders. We ask nothing of you; "you have nothing to justify or explain to us. "It must be as desirable to you as to us to get "the limits extended towards the sea-shore: you "would thereby be freed from a troublesome "duty, and one which can do you no honour. "The end proposed would not be the less effec-

" tually accomplished by such an arrangement. " I will venture to say, it would be more so: " whenever we wish to watch a person, we must " guard the door of his room, or the gates of the " enclosure which surrounds him; the inter- " mediate doors are only sources of unavailing " trouble. You lose sight of the Emperor every " day when he descends into the deep hollows " within the circuit, and you ascertain his exist- " ence only by his return. Well, then, make a " merit of a concession which the nature of things " demands. Extend the limits to within a mile of " the sea-shore; you may then also trace the " Emperor constantly by means of your signals, " from your heights."

To all this the officer replied only by repeating that he wanted neither look nor word from the Emperor; that he would be with us, as if he were not present. He seemed, and indeed he was, unable to comprehend that the mere sight of him could be offensive to the Emperor. I told him that there was a scale for the degrees of feeling, and that the same measure did not apply to all the world. He appeared to think that we were putting our own interpretations on the Emperor's sentiments, and that, if the reasons which he gave me were explained to him (the Emperor), the latter would accede to them. He was inclined to write to him. I assured him that as far as related personally to himself, he would not be

able to say so much to the Emperor as I myself should: but that I would go and repeat to the Emperor, word for word, the conversation which had passed between us. I went: I soon returned, and confirmed to him what I had before advanced. The Emperor from that moment gave up his intended jaunt.

Wishing, however, on my own account, to avoid every misunderstanding which might add to discussions at all times disagreeable, I asked him whether he had any objection to shew me the account he intended to give the Admiral. He told me he had none; but that he should only give a verbal one. Then resuming our long conversation, I reduced it in a few words, to two very positive points: on his part, that he had told me he wished to join the party of the Emperor; and on mine, that I had replied that the Emperor from that moment gave up his party, and would not go beyond the limits assigned to him. This statement was perfectly agreed upon by both of us. The Emperor ordered me to be called into his room. Brooding in profound silence over the vexation he had just experienced, he had undressed again, and was in his morning-gown. He detained me to breakfast, and observed that the sky seemed to threaten rain; that we should have had a bad day for our excursion. But this was a poor consolation for the cruel restraint which had just deprived him of an innocent pleasure.

The fact is, that the officer had received fresh orders; but the Emperor had only grounded the project of his little excursion upon the anterior promises of the Admiral, at which the Emperor had felt a pleasure in expressing his satisfaction to him. The present alteration, of which nothing had been said to the Emperor, must necessarily have been extremely unpleasant to him. Either the word given him was broken, or an attempt had been made to impose on him. This affront which he experienced from the Admiral, is one of those which have considerably hurt the feelings of the Emperor.

The Emperor took a bath, and did not dine with us. At nine o'clock he ordered me to be called into his room: he was reading Don Quixote, which turned our conversation upon Spanish literature, the translation of Le Sage, &c. He was very melancholy, and said little; he sent me away in about three quarters of an hour.

Marchand's room.—Linen, Garments, &c. of the Emperor. —Spurs of Champaubert, &c.

10th.—About four o'clock the Emperor desired me to be called into his room: he was dressed, and had his boots on; his intention was either to get on horseback, or to take a walk in the garden; but a gentle shower of rain was falling. We walked about in conversation, waiting for the weather to clear up. He opened the door of his

room leading to the topographical cabinet, in order that we might extend our walk the whole length of this cabinet. As we approached the bed, he asked me if I always slept in it. I answered, that I had ceased to do so from the moment that I became acquainted with his wish of going out early in the morning. "What has "that to do with it?" said he: "return to it; "I shall go out when I please, by the back-"door." The drawing-room door stood half open, and he entered it; Montholon and Gourgaud were there. They were endeavouring to fix a very pretty lustre, and a small glass over the chimney-piece: the Emperor desired the latter might be set straight, as it inclined a little on one side. He was much pleased at this improvement in the drawing-room furniture; a proof that every thing is relative! What could these objects have been in the eyes of a man, who, some years ago, had furniture to the value of forty millions in his palaces?

We returned to the topographical cabinet: the rain continued to fall, he gave up his promenade; but he regretted that the Grand Marshal had not arrived; he felt himself this day inclined for work, which he had discontinued for fifteen days. He endeavoured to kill time, whilst waiting for Bertrand. "Let us go and see Madame de "Montholon," said he to me. I announced him; he sat down, made me do the same; and we

talked about furniture and housekeeping. He then began to form an inventory of the articles in the apartment, piece by piece; and we all agreed that the furniture was not worth more than thirty Napoleons. Leaving Madame de Montholon's, he ran from room to room, and stopped in front of the staircase in the corridor which leads to the servants' room above; it is a kind of very steep ship-stair. "Let us look at Marchand's "apartment," said he; "they say that he keeps "it like that of a *petite maitresse*." We climbed up; Marchand was there; his little room is clean; he has pasted paper upon it, which he has painted himself. His bed was without curtains: Marchand does not sleep so far from his master's door; at Briars, he and the two other valets de chambre constantly slept upon the ground, across the Emperor's doorway, so close, that whenever I came away late, I was obliged to step over them. The Emperor ordered the presses to be opened; they contained nothing but his linen and his clothes: the whole was not considerable, and he, nevertheless, was astonished to find himself still so rich. "How many pair of spurs have I?" said he, taking up a pair. "Four pair," answered Marchand. "Are any of them more "remarkable than the rest?" "No, Sire." "Well, I will give a pair of them to Las Cases. "Are these old?" "Yes, Sire, they are almost worn "out; your Majesty wore them in the campaign

" of Dresden, and in that of Paris."—" Here," said he, " giving them to me; these are for you." I could have wished that he would have permitted me to receive them on my knees. I felt that I was really receiving something connected with the glorious days of Champaubert, Montmirail, Nangis, Montereau! Was there ever a more appropriate memorial of chivalry, in the times of Amadis? " Your Majesty is making me " a knight," said I; " but how am I to win these " spurs? I cannot pretend to achieve any feat " of arms; and as to love and devotion, Sire, all " I have to bestow, have long since been dis- " posed of."

Still the Grand Marshal did not arrive, and the Emperor wished to set to work. " You cannot " write any longer then?" he said to me. " Your " eyesight is quite gone." Ever since we had been here I had given up work entirely; my eyesight failed me, which made me extremely melancholy. " Yes, Sire," I replied, " it is entirely gone, and " I am grieved that I lost it in the Campaign of " Italy, without enjoying the happiness and " glory of having served in it."—He endeavoured to console me, by telling me, that I should recover my eye-sight beyond a doubt by repose, adding, " Oh why did they not leave " us Planat? that good young man would now " be of great service to me." And he desired General Gourgaud to come, that he might dictate to him.

Admiral Taylor, &c.

11th. — As I was walking after breakfast, about half-past twelve, before the gate, I saw a numerous cavalcade approaching, preceded by the Colonel of the 53d: it was Admiral Taylor, who had arrived the evening before with his squadron from the Cape, and was to leave us the next day but one for Europe. Among his captains was his son, who had lost his arm at the battle of Trafalgar, where his father commanded the Tonnant.

Admiral Taylor said, he was come to pay his respects to the Emperor; but he had just received for answer that he was unwell; at which the Admiral was much disappointed. I observed to him, that the climate of Longwood was very unfavourable to Napoleon. I chose an unlucky time for making this observation, as the sky was beautiful, and the place displayed at this moment all the illusion which it is capable of producing: the Admiral did not fail to remark that the situation was charming. I replied in a tone of genuine sorrow. "*Yes, Admiral,* "*to-day, and for you, who only remain a quarter* "*of an hour in it.*" At this he seemed quite disconcerted, began to make excuses, and begged me to pardon him for having made use of what he called an impertinent expression. I must render justice to the peculiar urbanity of manner which he evinced on this occasion.

The Emperor aimed at by a Soldier.—Our Evening Amusements.—Novels.—Political sally.

12th—14th. The Emperor had now for several days left off his excursions on horseback. The result of his attempt to resume them, on the 12th, was neither calculated to revive his partiality for this amusement, nor to render it once more habitual to him. We had cleared our valley as usual, and were re-ascending it at the back part opposite Longwood, when a soldier from one of the heights, where there had hitherto been no post, called out several times, and made various signs to us. As we were in the very centre of our circuit, we paid no attention to him. He then came running down towards us, out of breath, charging his piece as he ran. General Gourgaud remained behind, to see what he wanted, while we continued our route. I could see the General, after dodging the fellow many times, collar and secure him: he made him follow him as far as the neighbouring post of the Grand Marshal, which the General endeavoured to make him enter, but he escaped from him. He found that he was a drunken corporal, who had not rightly understood his countersign. He had frequently levelled his piece at us. This circumstance, which might have been very easily repeated, made us tremble for the Emperor's life: the latter looked upon it only as an

affront, and a fresh obstacle to the continuance of his exercises on horseback.

Napoleon had left off giving invitations to dinner: the hours, the distance, the dressing, were inconvenient to the guests: to us these parties produced only trouble and constraint, without any pleasure.

The Emperor had unconsciously resumed his regular work. He now dictated daily to the Grand Marshal upon the expedition to Egypt; some time before dinner he ordered me and my son to be called to him, in order to read the different chapters of the Campaigns of Italy over again, and separate them into paragraphs. Cards had gone out of fashion; the Emperor had given them up. The time after dinner was henceforth devoted to the reading of some work: the Emperor himself read aloud; when he was tired, he handed the book over to some other person; but then he never could bear their reading more than a quarter of an hour. We were now reading novels, and we began many which we never finished. *Manon l'Escaut* we soon rejected as fit only for the anti-chamber; then followed the *Memoirs of Grammont*, which are so full of wit, but so little honourable to the morals of the great of that period: the *Chevalier de Faublas*, which is only to be endured at the age of twenty years, &c. Whenever these readings could be protracted to eleven o'clock, or midnight, the Emperor seemed truly

rejoiced. He called this making conquests over time; and he found such victories not the most easy to gain.

Politics had also their turn. Every three or four weeks or thereabouts, we received a large packet of journals from Europe; this, like the cut of a whip, set us going again for some days, during which we discussed, analyzed, and re-discussed the news; and afterwards fell again insensibly into our usual melancholy. The last journals had reached us by the corvette La Levrette, which had arrived some days before. They occupied one of the evenings, and gave rise to one of those moments, wherein that ardour and inspiration burst forth from the Emperor, which I have sometimes witnessed in the Council of State, and which escape him from time to time even here.

He took large strides as he walked amongst us, becoming gradually more animated, and only interrupting his discourse by a few moments of meditation.

"Poor France," said he, "what will be thy lot! "Above all, what is become of thy glory! . . . . . ."

I suppress the rest, which is of very great length: I *must* suppress it.

The papers seeming to say that England desired the dismemberment of France, but that Russia had opposed it, the Emperor said that he expected this; that it was the natural system

that Russia must be dissatisfied at seeing France divided; whilst, on the other hand, the English aristocracy must be desirous of reducing France to the extreme of weakness, and of establishing despotism upon her ruins. "I know," said he, "that this is not your opinion," addressing himself to me; "you are an Englishman." I replied, that it was very difficult to dispute with him; but that it appeared to me that in this same English aristocracy, it must be allowed, that there might possibly exist, sufficiently clear heads, as well as hearts just enough to understand that, after having overthrown that which threatened their existence, it might prove advantageous to raise up that which was no longer to be dreaded. That circumstances were now singularly favourable for establishing a new system, which might for ever unite the two nations in their dearest interests; might render them necessary to each other; instead of keeping them in perpetual enmity, &c. The Emperor concluded the conversation by saying, that he must be very perverse without doubt; but that, with every consideration he could give the subject, he could foresee nothing but catastrophes, massacres, and bloodshed.

On the Secret History of the Cabinet of Bonaparte, by Goldsmith.—Details, &c.

15th.—When I was on board the Northumberland, I had heard the *Secret History of the Cabinet*

of Bonaparte, by Goldsmith, spoken of, and, in my first leisure moments here, I felt an inclination to skim it over; but I met with great difficulty in obtaining it, as the English excused themselves from putting it into my hands for a considerable time, saying, it was such an abominable libel that they were afraid to let me have it; and were themselves ashamed of it. I was for a long time under the necessity of urging them incessantly, repeating that we were all proof against such civilities; that he who was the object of them only used to laugh at such things, when chance brought them before his eyes; and moreover, that if this work was so bad as it was said to be, it must have failed in its end, and ceased to be hurtful at all. I asked who this Goldsmith, the author, was. I was told, he was an Englishman who . . .

. . . . . .

at Paris, and who, upon his return to England, had endeavoured to avoid . . . . and at the same time to gain more money, by loading with insults and imprecations that idol to whom he had so long offered incense. I at last obtained the work. It must be confessed that it would be difficult to collect together more horrible and ridiculous abominations than are presented to us in the first pages of this book: rapes, poison, incest, assassination, and all that belongs to them, are heaped by the author upon his hero, and that from his earliest childhood. It is true, that the author appears to

have given himself little concern about bestowing on these calumnies any air of probability; and that he himself sometimes demonstrates their impossibility, and sometimes refutes them by anachronisms, alibi's, and contradictions of every kind; mistakes in the names, persons, and the most authentic facts, &c. Thus, for example, when Napoleon was only about ten or twelve years of age, and was confined within the bounds of the Military School, he causes him to commit outrages which would require at least the age of manhood, and a certain degree of liberty, &c. The author makes him undertake what he calls the robberies of Italy, at the head of eight thousand galley-slaves, who had escaped from the bagnio at Toulon. Afterwards, he makes twenty thousand Poles abandon the Austrian ranks to join the standard of the French General, &c. The same author makes Napoleon arrive at Paris in Fructidor, when all the world knows that he never quitted his army. He makes him treat with the Prince of Condé, and ask the hand of the Princess Royal as the price of his treachery. I omit a number of other things equally absurd and impudent. It is evident that, with respect to the loose and ridiculous anecdotes particularly, he only collected all he could hear; but from what source has he drawn his information? The greater part of the anecdotes have certainly had their rise in certain defamatory and malevolent circles of Pa-

ris; but, as long as they were on that ground, they still preserved the appearance of some wit, salt, point, colour, some grace in the relation; whilst the stories in this book have evidently descended from the drawing-rooms into the streets, and have only been picked up after rolling in the kennel. The English allowed it was so coarse, that, with the exception of the most vulgar classes of society, the work was a poison which carried its own antidote along with it.

It may probably excite astonishment that I did not lay aside such a production upon reading the first page of it; but its coarseness and vulgarity are so gross that it cannot excite anger: on the other hand, there is no disgust which may not be got over in order to amuse the heavy hours at Saint-Helena. We consider ourselves fortunate in having any thing to run over. "Time," said the Emperor, a few days ago, "is the only thing "of which we have too much here." I therefore continued the work. And besides, I may perhaps be allowed to say, that it is not without some pleasure that I now read the absurd tales, the lies, and calumnies, which an author pretends to derive, as usual, from the best authority, relating to objects which I am now so perfectly well acquainted with, and which have become as familiar to me as the details of my own life; and it is likewise gratifying to lay down pages filled with the falsest representations, and exhibiting a portrait

purely fantastical, to go and study truth by the side of the real personage, in his own conversation ever full of novelties and grand ideas.

The Emperor having desired me to come to him this morning after breakfast, I found him in his morning-gown extended upon his sofa. The conversation led him to ask me what I was reading at this moment. I replied, that it was one of the most notorious and scurrilous libels published against him, and I quoted to him upon the spot some of its most abominable stories. He laughed greatly at them, and desired to see the work. I sent for it, and we went over it together. In passing from one horrid calumny to another, he exclaimed, "*Jesus!*" crossing himself repeatedly, a custom which I have perceived is familiar with him, in his little friendly circle, whenever he meets with monstrous, impudent, or obscene assertions; or such as excite his indignation and surprise without stirring up his anger. As we were going on, the Emperor analyzed certain facts, and corrected points of which the author might have known something. Sometimes he shrugged up his shoulders out of compassion; at others, he laughed heartily; but he never betrayed the least sign of anger. When he read the article which speaks of his great debaucheries and excesses, the violences and the outrages which he is made to commit, he observed that the author, doubtless, wished to make

a hero of him in every respect; that he willingly left him to those who had charged him with impotency; that it was for these gentlemen to agree among themselves; adding, merrily, "that every man was not so unlucky as the "pleader of Toulouse." They were in the wrong, however, he continued, to attack him upon the score of morals; him, who, as all the world knew, had so singularly improved them. They could not be ignorant that he was not at all inclined, by nature, to debauchery; and that, moreover, the multiplicity of his affairs would never have allowed him time to indulge in it. When we came to the pages where his mother was described as acting the most disgusting and abject part at Marseilles: he stopped, and repeated several lines with an accent of indignation, and something approaching to grief, "Ah! Madame! "—Poor Madame!—with her lofty character! "if she were to read this!—Great God!"

We thus passed more than two hours, at the end of which he began to dress. Doctor O'Meara was introduced to him: it was the usual hour of his being admitted. "*Dottore,*" said the Emperor to him in Italian, whilst he was shaving himself, "I have just read one of your fine "London productions against me." The Doctor's countenance indicated a wish to know what it was. I shewed him the book at a distance; it was himself who had lent it to me: he was dis-

concerted. "It is a very just remark," continued the Emperor, "that it is the truth only which "gives offence. I have not been angry for a "moment; but I have frequently laughed at it." The Doctor endeavoured to reply, and puzzled himself with high-flown sentences: it was, he said, an infamous, disgusting libel; every body knew it to be such; nobody paid any attention to it: nevertheless, persons might be found who would believe it, from its not having been replied to. "But how can that be helped?" said the Emperor. "If it should enter any one's "head to put in print that I had grown hairy, "and walked on four paws, there are people "who would believe it, and would say that God "had punished me as he did Nebuchadnezzar. "And what could I do? There is no remedy in "such cases." The Doctor came away, hardly able to believe the gaiety, the indifference, the good-nature of which he had just been witness: with regard to ourselves, we were now accustomed to it.

The Emperor resolves to learn English, &c.

16th.—About three o'clock the Emperor desired me to come and converse with him whilst he was dressing himself; we afterwards took a few turns in the garden. He observed, accidentally, that it was a shame he could not yet read English. I

assured him that, if he had continued his lessons after the two that I had given when we were off Madeira, he would now have been able to read every description of English books. He was perfectly persuaded of this, and ordered me to oblige him henceforth to take a lesson every day. The conversation then led me to observe, that I had just given my son his first lesson in mathematics. It is a branch of knowledge which the Emperor is very fond of, and in which he is particularly skilled. He was astonished that I could teach my son so much without the help of any work, and without any copy-book; he said, he did not know I was so learned in this way, and threatened me with examining, when I did not expect it, both the master and the scholar. At dinner he undertook what he called the Professor of Mathematics, who was very near being posed by him: one question did not wait for another, and they were frequently very keen. He never ceased to regret that the mathematics were not taught at a very early age in the Lyceums. He said that all the intentions he had formed respecting the Universities had been frustrated, complained greatly of De Fontanes, lamenting, that whilst he was obliged to be at a distance, carrying on the war, they spoiled all he had done at home, &c. This led the Emperor back to the first years of his life, to father Patrault, his Pro-

fessor of Mathematics, whose history he gave us: I have already introduced it; and it will have been read in the foregoing pages.

First English lesson, &c.

17th.—The Emperor took his first lesson in the English language to-day. And as it was my intention to put him at once in a situation to read the paper with readiness, this first lesson consisted of nothing more than getting acquainted with an English newspaper; in studying the form and plan of it; in learning the placing, which is always uniform, of the different subjects which it contains; in separating the notices and gossip of the town from politics; and, in the latter, in learning to distinguish what is authentic from what is mere report or conjecture.

I have engaged, that, if the Emperor could endure being annoyed every day with such lessons, he would be able to read the papers in a month without the assistance of any of us. The Emperor wished afterwards to do some exercise; he wrote some sentences which were dictated to him, and translated them into English, with the assistance of a little table, which I made for him, of the auxiliary verbs and articles, and aided by the dictionary for other words, which I made him look out himself. I explained to him the rules of syntax and grammar according as they came before us; in this manner he formed various sen-

tences, which amused him more than the versions which we also attempted. After the lesson, at two o'clock, we went and took a walk in the garden.

Several musquet-shots were fired: they were so near us, that they appeared to have been fired in the garden itself. The Emperor observed to me, that my son (we thought it was he) seemed to have good sport: I replied, that it was the last time he should enjoy it so near the Emperor. "Really," said he, "you may as well go and tell "him that he is only to come within cannon-shot "of us." I ran: we had accused him wrongfully, for the guns were fired by the people who were training the Emperor's horses.

After dinner, during coffee, the Emperor, taking me to the corner of the chimney-piece, put his hand upon my head to measure my height, and said, "I am a giant to you."—"Your Majesty is "that to so many others," I observed to him, "that I am not at all affected by it." He spoke immediately of something else; for he does not like to dwell on expressions of this description.

Our daily habits.—Conversation with Governor Wilks.—Armies.—Chemistry.—Politics.—Remarks on India.— Delphine, *by Mad. de Staël.—Necker, Calonne.*

18th—20th. We led a life of great uniformity. The Emperor did not go out in the mornings. The English lesson was very regularly taken

about two o'clock; then followed either a walk in the garden, or some presentations, but which were very rare; afterwards a little excursion in the calash, as the horses were at last arrived. Before dinner, we proceeded with the revision of the Campaigns of Italy or Egypt: after dinner we read romances.

On the 20th, the Emperor received Governor Wilks, with whom he had a profound discussion on the army, the sciences, government, and the Indies. Speaking of the organization of the English army, he dwelt much on the principles of promotion therein, expressing his surprise, that, in a country in which equality of rights is maintained, the soldiers so seldom become officers.

Colonel Wilks admitted that the English soldiers were not formed to become so; and said, that the English were equally astonished at the great difference they had remarked in the French army, where almost every soldier shewed the nascent talents of an officer. "That," observed the Emperor, "is one of the great results of the Conscription; "it had rendered the French army the best con- "stituted that ever existed. It was an institu- "tion," he continued, "eminently national, and "already strongly interwoven with our habits; it "had ceased to be a cause of grief, except to "mothers; and the time was at hand, when a "girl would not have listened to a young man "who had not acquitted himself of this debt to

" his country. And it would have been only " when arrived at this point," added he, " that the " conscription would have manifested the full " extent of its advantages. When the service " no longer bears the appearance of punishment " or compulsory duty, but is become a point of " honour, on which all are jealous, then only is " the nation great, glorious, and powerful; it is " then that its existence is proof against reverses, " invasions—even the hand of time!

" Besides," continued he, " it may be truly " said, that there is nothing that may not be ob- " tained from Frenchmen by the excitement of " danger; it seems to animate them; it is an in- " heritance they derive from their Gallic prede- " cessors. . . . Courage, the love of glory, are, " with the French, an instinct, a kind of sixth " sense. How often in the heat of battle has " my attention been fixed on my young con- " scripts, rushing, for the first time, into the " thickest of the fight: honour and valour burst- " ing forth at every pore."

After this, the Emperor, knowing that Governor Wilks was well informed in chemistry, attacked him on that subject. He spoke of the immense progress in all our manufactures occasioned by this science. He said, that both England and France, undoubtedly, possessed great chemists; but that chemistry was more generally diffused in France, and more particularly directed

to useful results; that in England it remained a science, while in France it was becoming entirely practical. The Governor admitted that these observations were perfectly correct, and, with a liberality of sentiment, added, that it was to him, the Emperor, that all these advantages were owing, and that wherever science was led by the hand of power, it would produce great and happy effects upon the well-being of society. The Emperor observed, that of late France had obtained sugar from the beet-root, as good and cheap as that extracted from the sugar-cane. The Governor was astonished; he had not even suspected it. The Emperor assured him that it was an established fact, opposed, as it was, to the rooted prejudices of all Europe, France itself not excepted. He added, that it was the same with woad, the substitute for indigo, and with almost all the colonial produce, except the dye-woods. This led him to conclude, that if the invention of the compass had produced a revolution in commerce, the progress of chemistry bade fair to produce a counter-revolution.

The conversation then turned to the present numerous emigrations of the artisans of France and England to America. The Emperor observed that this favoured country grew rich by our follies. The Governor smiled, and replied, that those of England would occupy the first place in the list, from the numerous errors of admi-

nistration, which had led to the revolt and subsequent emancipation of the Colonies. The Emperor said that their emancipation was inevitable; that when children were come to the size of their fathers, it was difficult to retain them long in a state of obedience.

They then spoke of India; the Governor had resided there many years, and had filled high situations; he had made important researches; he was enabled to reply to a multitude of questions proposed to him by the Emperor, respecting the laws, the manners, the usages of the Hindoos, the administration of the English, the nature and construction of the existing laws, &c.

The English are governed according to the laws of England; the natives by local acts made by the several Councils in the service of the Company, with whom it is a fundamental principle to render them as nearly similar as possible to the laws of the people themselves.

Hyder Aly was a man of genius; Tippoo, his son, was arrogant, ignorant, and rash. The former had upwards of 400,000 men; the latter scarcely ever more than 50,000. These people are not deficient in courage, but they do not possess our physical strength, and have neither discipline nor any knowledge of tactics. Forty-seven thousand men in the English service, of whom only 4,000 were Europeans, were sufficient to destroy the empire of Mysore. It was,

however, to be presumed, that sooner or later the national spirit would rescue these regions from the dominion of the Europeans. The intermixture of European blood with that of the natives, was producing a mixed race, whose numbers and disposition certainly prepared the way for a great revolution. Nevertheless, in their actual condition, the people were happier than they had been previously to the dominion of the English: an impartial administration of justice, and the mildness of the government were, for the present, the strongest supports of the power of the parent state. It was also considered expedient to prohibit the English and other Europeans from buying lands there, or forming hereditary establishments, &c.

Madame de Staël's *Delphine* was at this time a subject of conversation at our evening parties. The Emperor analyzed it: few things in it escaped his censure. The irregularity of mind and imagination which pervades it, excited his criticism: there were throughout, said he, the same faults which had formerly made him keep the author at a distance, notwithstanding the most pointed advances and the most unremitting flattery on her part. No sooner had victory immortalized the young General of the Army of Italy, than Madame de Staël, unacquainted with him, from the mere sympathy of glory, instantly professed for him sentiments of enthusiasm worthy of her

own *Corinne;* she wrote him long and numerous epistles, full of wit, imagination, and metaphysical erudition: it was an error, she observed, arising only from human institutions, that could have united him with the meek, the tranquil Madame Bonaparte; it was a soul of fire like her's (Madame de Staël's) that nature had undoubtedly destined to be the companion of a hero like him.

I refer to the Campaigns in Italy, to shew that this forwardness on the part of Madame de Staël was not checked by the circumstance of meeting with no return. With a perseverance never to be disheartened, she succeeded, at a later period, in forming some degree of acquaintance, so far even as to be allowed to visit; and she used this privilege, said the Emperor, to a disagreeable extent. It is unquestionably true, as has been reported, that the General, wishing to make her sensible of it, one day caused her to be told, by way of excuse, that he was scarcely dressed; and that she replied promptly and earnestly, that it was unimportant, for that genius was of no sex.

From Madame de Staël we were naturally led to her father, M. Necker. The Emperor related, that at Geneva, in his way to Marengo, he received a visit from him, wherein he made known, in an awkward manner enough, his desire to be admitted again to the Administration—a desire, by the by, which M. Calonne, his rival, subse-

quently came to Paris to express with a degree of levity beyond conception. M. Necker afterwards wrote a dangerous work upon the policy of France, which he attempted to prove could no longer exist either as a monarchy or a republic, and in which he called the First Consul *l'homme nécessaire.*

The First Consul proscribed the work, which, at that time, might have been highly prejudicial to him, and committed the task of refuting it to the Consul Lebrun, "who in his elegant prose," said the Emperor, executed prompt and ample justice upon it. The Necker *coterie* was irritated, and Madame de Staël, engaging in some intrigues, received an order to quit France: thenceforth she became an ardent and strenuous enemy. Nevertheless, on the return from the Island of Elba, she wrote or sent to the Emperor, to express, in her peculiar way, the enthusiasm which this wonderful event had excited in her; that she was overcome; that this last act was not that of a mortal; that it had at once raised its author to the skies. Then, returning to herself, she concluded by hinting, that if the Emperor would condescend to allow the payment of the two millions, for which an order in her favour had already been signed by the King, her pen and her principles should be devoted for ever after to his interest.—The Emperor desired she might be informed, in answer, that nothing could flatter him more highly

than her approbation, because he fully appreciated her talents; but that he really was not rich enough to purchase it at that price.

My new lodging described.—Morning visit, &c.

21st.—I had at length taken possession of the new lodging built for me instead of my former stoving-room. Upon a soil constantly damp had been placed a floor eighteen feet long by eleven wide; this was surrounded by a wall of a foot and half in thickness, composed of a sort of loam, and which might have been destroyed with a kick of the foot: at the height of seven feet it was covered with a roof of boards, defended by a coating of paper and tar. Such were the construction and the outline of my new palace, divided into two apartments, one of which contained two beds separated by a chest of drawers, and would only afford room for a single chair; the other, at once my saloon and my library, had a single window strongly fastened up on account of the violence of the winds and rain; on the right and left of it two writing-tables, for me and my son; on the opposite side a couch and two chairs: this was the whole of the furniture and accommodations: add to this, that the aspect of the two windows is towards a wind constantly blowing from the same quarter, and generally accompanied with rain, often very heavy, and which, previously to our taking possession,

already forced its way through the cracks, or soaked through the walls and the roof. I was to pass the first night in these new quarters; I was indisposed, and my change of bed prevented me from sleeping. I was informed about seven o'clock, that the Emperor was going out on horseback; I replied, that not feeling myself well, I should endeavour to take some rest; but only a few minutes had elapsed when a person hastily entered my apartment, opened my curtains with an air of authority, found fault with me for being so idle, and pronounced that this ailment must be shaken off; then, struck with the smell of the paint, the extreme smallness of the room, and the closeness of the two beds, decided that we could no longer be suffered to sleep huddled together in that way; that it was far too unwholesome; and that I must return to the bed in the topographical cabinet, which I ought not to abandon through false delicacy; and that, if I occasioned any inconvenience there, I should be told of it. It will have been guessed, that this person was the Emperor. I was, of course, soon out of bed, dressed, and well. The Emperor was, however, already far off: I had to seek him in the park. After I had overtaken him, our conversation turned on the long audience he had given to Governor Wilks the day before. He dwelt, with much good humour, on the great importance which my work seemed to have given me in the Governor's eyes,

and the extreme good-will towards me with which it seemed to have inspired him. "Of "course," continued he, "it is understood that "these sentiments are to be mutual; the usual "regard and fraternity of authors, as long as they "do not criticize each other. And is he aware of "your relationship to the venerable Las Casas?" I answered that I knew nothing of the matter; but General Gourgaud, who was on the other side of the Emperor, replied in the affirmative. "And "how do you know it yourself?" said the Emperor to me; "Are you not romancing with us?" "The following, Sire, are my proofs. Our family "had been two hundred years in France, when "Barthelemi de Las Casas flourished in Spain; "but the Spanish historians all describe him as "a native of the same city from which we our-"selves came, that is to say, Seville. They all "mention him as of an ancient family of French "origin, and state his ancestors to have passed "into Spain precisely at the time when our "family went there."—"What, then, you are not "Spanish? He was French, as well as you!"—"Yes, Sire."—"Let us hear all about it; come, "Sir Castellan, Sir Knight-errant, Sir Paladin,—"let us see you in your glory; unroll your old "parchments; come, enjoy yourself."—"Sire, "one of my ancestors followed Henry Count of "Burgundy, who, at the head of a few crusaders, "achieved the conquest of Portugal, about the

"year 1100. He was his standard-bearer at the "famous battle of Ourique, which founded the "Portuguese monarchy. Afterwards we returned "to France with Queen Blanche, when she came "to be married to the father of Saint Louis. "Sire, this is the whole."

The Emperor's readings.—Madame de Sevigné.—Charles XII.—Paul and Virginia.—Vertot.—Rollin.—Velly.—Garnier.

22d—26th. These days were rendered unpleasant by almost incessant rain. The Emperor was only twice able to ride out—in the park one morning, and once in the afternoon through our usual valley, which the weather had rendered almost impassable. Nor was it more practicable to make use of the calash; we were therefore compelled to confine ourselves to a few turns in the garden, and to share in the gloom of the weather. We worked, however, the more on this account. The Emperor regularly took excellent and long lessons in English. It is his custom to pass all the morning in reading; he reads whole works of very considerable extent regularly throughout, without feeling in the least fatigued; he always read some part of them to me before he began his English lessons.

One of them was the Letters of Madame de Sevigné, the style of which is so easy, and depicts so faithfully the manners of the time. Reading

the death of Turenne, and the trial of Fouquet, he observed with respect to the latter, that Madame de Sevigné seemed to evince too much warmth, too much earnestness and tenderness, for mere friendship.

Another was *Charles XII;* in reading whose defence of his house, at Bender, against the Turks, he could not help laughing, and repeating, as they did, "*Iron-head! Iron-head!*" He asked me whether the nature of this monarch's death was a settled point. I told him I had it from the mouth of Gustavus III. himself, that he had been assassinated by his followers. Gustavus had examined his body in the vault; the ball was a pistol-bullet; it had been fired very near, and behind him, &c.

At the beginning of the Revolution, I was well acquainted with Gustavus III. at the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle; and though I was then very young, I had more than once the honour of conversing with him: he even promised me a place in his navy, if our affairs in France should turn out unfavourably.

Another day the Emperor was reading *Paul and Virginia;* he gave full effect to the touching passages, which were always the most simple and natural; those which abounded with the pathos, the abstract and false ideas so much in fashion when the work was published, were all, in the Emperor's opinion, cold, bad, spoiled. He said

he had been infatuated with this book in his youth; but he had little personal regard for its author: he could never forgive him for having imposed on his generosity on his return from the Army of Italy. "Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's sensibility and de-"licacy," said he, "were little in harmony with "his charming picture of Paul and Virginia. "He was a bad man; he used his wife, Didot the "printer's daughter, very ill; he was always "ready to ask charity, without the least shame. "On my return from the Army of Italy, Bernar-"din came to see me, and almost immediately be-"gan to tell me of his wants. I, who in my early "youth had dreamed of nothing but Paul and "Virginia, and felt flattered by a confidence which "I imagined was reposed in me alone, and which "I attributed to my great celebrity, hastened to "return his visit, and, unperceived by any one, left "on the corner of his chimney-piece a little rou-"leau of five-and-twenty louis. But how was "I mortified on seeing every one laugh at the "delicacy of my proceeding; and on learning that "such ceremony was entirely superfluous with "M. Bernardin, who made it his trade to beg "of all comers, and to receive from every body. "I always retained some little resentment to-"wards him, for having thus imposed upon me. "It was otherwise with my family. Joseph al-"lowed him a large pension, and Louis was con-"stantly making him presents."

But though the Emperor liked Paul and Virginia, he laughed, for very pity, at the *Studies of Nature*, by the same Author. "Bernardin," said he, "though versed in *Belles Lettres*, was very little "of a geometrician; this last work was so bad, "that scientific men disdained to answer it; Ber- "nardin complained loudly of their not noticing "him. The celebrated mathematician Lagrange, "when speaking on this subject, always said, al- "luding to the Institute, 'If Bernardin were one "of our class—if he spoke our language, we "would call him to order; but he belongs to "the Academy, and his style is out of our line.'" Bernardin was complaining as usual, one day, to the First Consul of the silence of the learned with respect to his works: Napoleon asked, "Do you understand the differential method, "M. Bernardin?"—"No."—"Well, go and learn "it, and then you will be able to answer your- "self." Afterwards, when Emperor, every time he perceived Saint-Pierre, he used to say to him, "M. Bernardin, when are we to have any more "Paul and Virginias, or Indian Cottages? You "ought to supply us every six months."

In reading Vertot's Roman Revolutions, of which in other respects the Emperor thinks highly, he found the declamations much too diffuse. This was his constant complaint against every work he took up; he had in his youth, he said, been much to blame in this respect himself. He may

justly be said to have thoroughly reformed afterwards. He amused himself with striking out the superfluous phrases in Vertot; and the result was that after these erasures, the work appeared much more energetic and animated. "It would cer-
"tainly be a most valuable and successful labour," said he, "if any man of taste and discernment "would devote his time to reducing the principal "works in our language in this manner. I know "nobody but Montesquiou who would escape "these curtailments." He often looked into Rollin, whom he thought diffuse, and too credulous. Crevier, his continuator, seemed to Napoleon detestable. He complained of our classical works, and of the time which our young people are compelled to lose in reading such bad books. They were composed by rhetoricians, and mere professors, he said; whereas such immortal subjects, the basis of all our knowledge throughout life, ought to have been written and edited by statesmen and men of the world. The Emperor had excellent ideas on this subject: the want of time alone prevented him from carrying them into execution.

The Emperor was still more dissatisfied with our French historians; he could not bear to read any of them. "Velly is rich in words, and poor "in meaning: his continuators are still worse. "Our history," said the Emperor, "should either "be in four or five volumes, or in a hundred."

He had been acquainted with Garnier, who continued Velly and Villaret; he lived in the basement of Malmaison. He was an old man of eighty, and lodged in a small set of apartments on the ground-floor, with a little gallery. Struck with the officious attention which this good old man always evinced whenever the First Consul was passing, the latter enquired who he was. On learning that it was Garnier, he comprehended his motives. "He, no doubt, imagined," said the Emperor pleasantly, "that a First Consul was "his property, as historian. I dare say, however, "he was astonished to find Consuls where he "had been accustomed to see Kings." Napoleon told him so, himself, laughing, when he called him one day, and settled a good pension on him. "From that time," said the Emperor, "the "poor man, in the warmth of his gratitude, "would gladly have written any thing I pleased, "with all his heart."

A difficulty overcome.—The Emperor's personal danger at Eylau, Jena, &c.—Russian, Austrian, and Prussian troops.—Young Guibert.—Corbineau.—Marshal Lannes.—Bessieres.—Duroc.

27th.—About five o'clock the Emperor went out in his calash; the evening was very fine; we drove rapidly, and the distance to be traversed is very short. The Emperor made the servants slacken their pace, in order to prolong the ride.

As we returned, the Emperor, casting his eyes on the camp, from which we were only separated by the ravine, asked why we could not pass that way, which would double the length of our ride. He was told it was impossible; and we continued our way homeward. But on a sudden, as if roused by this word *impossible*, which he had so often said was not French, he ordered the ground to be reconnoitred. We all got out of the carriage, which proceeded empty towards the difficult points; we saw it clear every obstacle, and returned home in triumph, as if we had just doubled our possessions.

During dinner, and afterwards, the conversation turned on various deeds of arms. The Grand Marshal said, that what had most struck him in the life of the Emperor, happened at Eylau, when, attended only by some officers of his staff, a column of four or five thousand Russians came almost in contact with him. The Emperor was on foot; the Prince of Neufchatel instantly ordered up the horses: the Emperor gave him a reproachful look; then sent orders to a battalion of his guard to advance, which was a good way behind, and standing still. As the Russians advanced, he repeated several times, "What audacity! what audacity!" At the sight of the grenadiers of the guard, the Russians stopped short. It was high time they should, as Bertrand said. The Emperor had

never stirred; all who surrounded him had been much alarmed.

The Emperor had heard this account without making any observation; but, when it was finished, he said that one of the finest manœuvres he remembered was that which he executed at Eckmulh. Unfortunately he did not proceed, or give any particulars. "Success in war," said he, "depends so much on quicksightedness, and on "seizing the right moment, that the battle of "Austerlitz, which was so completely won, would "have been lost if I had attacked six hours "sooner. The Russians shewed themselves on "that occasion such excellent troops as they have "never appeared since; the Russian army of "Austerlitz would not have lost the battle of the "Moscowa."

"Marengo," said the Emperor, "was the battle "in which the Austrians fought best: their troops "behaved admirably there; but that was the grave "of their valour. It has never since been seen.

"The Prussians, at Jena, did not make such a "resistance as was expected from their reputa-"tion. As to the multitudes of 1814 and 1815, "they were mere rabble compared to the real "soldiers of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena."

The night before the battle of Jena, the Emperor said, he had run the greatest risk. He might then have disappeared without his fate

being clearly known. He had approached the bivouacs of the enemy, in the dark, to reconnoitre them; he had only a few officers with him. The opinion which was then entertained of the Prussian army kept every one on the alert: it was thought that the Prussians were particularly given to nocturnal attacks. As the Emperor returned, he was fired at by the first sentinel of his camp; this was a signal for the whole line; he had no resource but to throw himself flat on his face until the mistake was discovered. But his principal apprehension was that the Prussian line, which was very near him, would act in the same manner.

At Marengo the Austrian soldiers had not forgotten the conqueror of Castiglione, Arcole, and Rivoli; his name had much influence over them; but they were far from thinking he was present; they believed he was dead; care had been taken to persuade them that he had perished in Egypt; that the First Consul, of whom they heard talk, was only his brother. This report had gained so much credit every where, that Napoleon was under the necessity of appearing in public at Milan, in order to refute it.

After these anecdotes, the Emperor proceeded to mention a great number of his officers and aides-de-camp, distributing praise and censure amongst them as he went on; he knew them all thoroughly. Two of the circumstances which

had most affected him on the field of battle, he said, were the deaths of young Guibert and General Corbineau. At Aboukir, a bullet went quite through the breast of the former, without killing him instantly: the Emperor, after saying a few words to him, was obliged, by the violence of his feelings, to leave him. The other was carried away, crushed, annihilated by a cannon-ball, at Eylau, before the Emperor's face, whilst he was giving him some orders. The Emperor spoke also of the last moments of Marshal Lannes, the valiant Duke of Montebello, so justly called the Orlando of the army, who, when visited by the Emperor on his death-bed, seemed to forget his own situation, and to care only for him, whom he loved above every thing. The Emperor had the highest esteem for him. "He was for a long "time a mere fighting man," said he, "but he af- "terwards became an officer of the first talents." Some one then said, he should like to know what line of conduct Lannes would have pursued in these latter times, if he had lived. "We have "learned," said the Emperor, "not to swear to "any thing. Yet I cannot conceive that it could "have been possible for him to deviate from the "path of duty and honour. Besides, it is hard to "imagine that he could have existed. With all "his bravery, he would unquestionably have got "killed in some of the last affairs, or at least suf- "ficiently wounded to be laid up out of the cen-

" tre and influence of events. And if he had " remained disposable, he was a man capable of " changing the whole face of affairs by his own " weight and influence."

The Emperor next mentioned Duroc, on whose character and private life he dwelt some time. " Duroc," concluded he, " had lively, " tender, and concealed passions, little corre- " sponding with the coldness of his manner. It " was long before I knew this, so exact and regu- " lar was his service. It was not until my day " was entirely closed and finished, and I was " enjoying repose, that Duroc's work began.— " Chance, or some accident, could alone have " made me acquainted with his character. He " was a pure and virtuous man, utterly disin- " terested, and extremely generous."

The Emperor said, that on the opening of the campaign at Dresden, he lost two men who were extremely valuable to him, and in the most foolish manner in the world: these were Bessieres and Duroc. When he went to see Duroc, after he had received his mortal wound, he attempted to hold out some hopes to him; but Duroc, who did not deceive himself, only replied by begging him to make them give him opium. The Emperor, excessively affected, could not venture to remain long with him, and tore himself from this distressing spectacle.

One of the company then reminded the Empe-

ror, that on leaving Duroc, he went and walked up and down by himself before his tent; no one durst accost him. But, some essential measures being requisite against the following day, some one at length ventured to go and ask him where the battery of the guard was to be placed. "Ask "me nothing till to-morrow," was the Emperor's answer.

At this recollection, the Emperor, with an apparent effort, began abruptly to talk of something else.

Duroc was one of those persons whose value is never known till they are lost: this was, after his death, the common expression of the court and city, and the unanimous sentiment every where.

He was a native of Nancy, in the department of La Meurthe. The origin of his fortune has been related above. Napoleon found him in the train at the siege of Toulon, and immediately interested himself for him. His attachment to him increased every day, and it might be said that they never more separated. I have elsewhere mentioned that I have heard the Emperor say, that throughout his career, Duroc was the only person who had possessed his unreserved confidence, and to whom he could freely unburden his mind.—Duroc was not a brilliant character; but he possessed an excellent judgment, and he rendered essential services, which, owing to their nature as well as to his reserve, were little heard of.

Duroc loved the Emperor for himself: it was rather to the individual, personally, that his devotion was attached, than to the monarch. In being made the confidant of his prince's feelings, he had acquired the art, and perhaps the right, of mitigating and directing them. How often has he whispered to people struck with consternation by the anger of the Emperor :—" Let him have " his way: he speaks from his feelings, not ac- " cording to his judgment; nor as he will act " to-morrow." What a servant! what a friend! what a treasure! How many storms he has soothed; how many rash orders, given in the moment of irritation, has he omitted to execute, knowing that his master would thank him the next day for the omission. The Emperor had accommodated himself to this sort of tacit arrangement; and on that account gave way the more readily to those violent bursts of temper, which relieve by the vent they afford to the passions.

Duroc died in the most deplorable manner, at a very critical moment; his death was another of the fatalities of Napoleon's career.

The day after the battle of Wurchen, towards evening, the skirmish of Reichenbach had just ended, the firing had ceased. Duroc was on the top of an eminence, apart from the troops, conversing with General Kirchener, and observing the retreat of the last ranks of the enemy. A

piece was levelled at this glittering group, and the fatal ball killed both the generals.*

Duroc had more influence over the Emperor's resolutions than is imagined. His death was probably, in this respect, a national calamity. There is reason to think, that if he had survived, the armistice of Dresden, which ruined us, would not have taken place; we should have pushed on to the Oder, and beyond it. The enemy would then have instantly acceded to peace, and we should have escaped their machinations, their intrigues, and, above all, the tedious, base, and atrocious perfidy of the Austrian Cabinet, which has ended in our destruction.

At a subsequent period Duroc might still have exerted an influence over other great events, and probably changed the face of affairs. Finally, even at a later conjuncture, at the time of Napoleon's fall, he would never have separated his destiny from that of the Emperor: he would have been with us at Saint-Helena; and this aid alone would have sufficed to counterbalance all the horrible vexations with which Napoleon was studiously oppressed.

Bessieres, of the department of the Lot, was thrown by the Revolution into the career of arms.

* General Kirchener was a very distinguished officer of engineers; he was brother-in-law to Marshal Lannes, who had chosen him on account of his courage and capacity.

He commenced as a private soldier in the constitutional guard of Louis XVI. Afterwards having attained the rank of captain of chasseurs, he attracted the Commander-in-chief of the army of Italy by acts of extraordinary personal bravery; and, when the general formed his corps of guides, he chose Bessieres to take the command of them. Such was the beginning of Bessieres, and the origin of his fortunes. From that instant we find him always at the head of the Consular or Imperial guard, in charges of the reserve, deciding the battle, or profiting by the victory. His name is gloriously connected with all our great battles.

Bessieres rose with the man who had distinguished him, and shared abundantly in the favours which the Emperor distributed. He was made a marshal of the Empire, Duke of Istria, colonel of the cavalry of the guard, &c.

His qualities developing themselves as he rose, proved him always equal to his fortune. Bessieres always continued good, humane, and generous; of antique loyalty and integrity; and, whether considered as a citizen or as a soldier, an honest worthy man. He often made use of the high favour in which he stood, to do extraordinary services, and acts of kindness even to people of very different ways of thinking to his. I know people, who, if they have a spark of gratitude in them, will confirm my assertion, and can bear testimony to his noble elevated sentiments.

Bessieres was adored by the Guards, in the midst of whom he passed his life. At the battle of Wagram a ball struck him off his horse, without doing him any farther injury. A mournful cry arose from the whole battalion; upon which Napoleon remarked, the next time he saw him: "Bessieres, the ball which struck you drew tears "from all my Guard. Return thanks to it; it "ought to be very dear to you."

He was less fortunate at the opening of the campaign of Saxony. On the very eve of the battle of Lutzen, a trifling engagement occurred, in which having advanced into the very midst of the skirmishers, he was shot dead on the spot by a musquet-ball in the breast. Thus, after living like Bayard, he died like Turenne.

I had conversed with him a little before this fatal event. Chance had brought us together by ourselves in a private box at the theatre. After talking of public affairs which deeply interested him, for he idolized his country, his last words, as he left me, were, that he was to set out for the army that night, and hoped we should meet again. "But at the present crisis," said he, "with our "young soldiers, we leaders must not spare our-"selves." Alas! he was never to return.

Bessieres was sincerely attached to the Emperor; he almost worshipped him; he, like Duroc, would certainly never have abandoned his person or his fortunes. And one would really

think that Fate, which proved so decidedly hostile to Napoleon in his latter days, had resolved to deprive him of the sweetest consolation, by thus removing two such valuable friends; and at the same time to prevent these faithful servants from acquiring the very highest claim to glory, that of gratitude to the unfortunate.

The Emperor caused the remains of these two men whom he so much esteemed, and by whom he knew himself to be beloved in return, to be carried to the *Invalides* at Paris. He intended extraordinary honours for them, of which subsequent events deprived them. But History, whose pages are far more imperishable than marble or bronze, has consecrated them, and secured them for ever from oblivion.*

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* The following is extracted from the Campaign of Saxony in 1813, by Baron Odeleben, an eye-witness of the circumstance; under date of the 10th of August, at the time of the resumption of hostilities, two or three months after the death of Duroc.

"During the march from Reichenbach to Gorlitz, Napoleon stopped at Makersdorf, and shewed the King of Naples the place where Duroc fell. He summoned to his presence the proprietor of the little farm on which the Grand Marshal died, and made over to him the sum of 20,000 francs; 4000 of which were for a monument in honour of the deceased, and 16,000 for the proprietor of the house and his wife. The donation was consummated in the evening, in the presence of the rector and the judge of Makersdorf: the money was counted out before them, and they were charged to get the monument erected."

Study of English.—Reflections.—Ride.—Mired Horse.

21st.—Our days passed, as may be supposed, in an excessive stupid monotony. *Ennui*, reflection, and melancholy, were our formidable enemies; occupation our great and only refuge. The Emperor followed his pursuits with great regularity. English was become an affair of importance to him. It was now near a fortnight since he took his first lesson, and from that moment he had devoted some hours, every day, beginning at noon, to that study; sometimes with truly admirable ardour, sometimes with visible disgust; an alternative which kept me in the greatest anxiety. I considered success as of the greatest importance, and I every day dreaded to see him abandon the ground gained on the day preceding; and consequently that I should be regarded as having wearied him with the most tedious labour, without having produced the fortunate result I had promised myself. On the other hand, I was also daily spurred on by the consciousness that I was approaching the goal at which I aimed. The attainment of the English language was a real and serious conquest to the Emperor. Formerly, he said, it had cost him a hundred thousand crowns a year, merely for translations; and how did he know whether he had them exact—whether they were faithful? Now that we were imprisoned, as it

were, in the midst of this language, surrounded by its productions, all the great changes and questions which the Emperor had given rise to on the Continent, had been taken up by the English on the opposite side; and in their works presented so many new faces to him, to which he had hitherto been a stranger.

It may be added, that French books were scarce with us; that the Emperor knew them all, and had read them even to satiety; whilst we could easily procure a multitude of English ones altogether new to him. Besides, to learn the language of a foreigner, always prepossesses him in our favour; it is a satisfaction to one's self; it facilitates intercourse, and forms in a certain degree the commencement of a sort of connexion between the parties. However this may be, I began to perceive the limits of our difficulties; I anticipated the moment when the Emperor would have got through all the inevitable disagreeables incident to beginners. But let any one form an idea, if possible, of what the scholastic study of conjugations, declensions, and articles must have been to him. It could never have been accomplished, without great courage on the scholar's side, and some degree of artifice on the part of the master. He often asked me whether he did not deserve the ferula, of which he now comprehended the vast utility in schools; he declared, jestingly, that he should have made much

greater progress himself, had he stood in fear of correction. He complained of not having improved, but, in reality, the progress he had made would have been extraordinary in any one.

The more grand, rapid, and comprehensive the mind is, the less it is capable of dwelling on regular minute details. The Emperor, who discovered wonderful facility in apprehending all that regarded the philosophy of the language, evinced very little capacity for retaining its material mechanism. He had a quick understanding and a very bad memory: this vexed him much; he conceived that he did not get on. Whenever I could subject the matters in question to any regular law or analogy, they were classed and comprehended in an instant; the scholar even preceded the master in his applications and deductions; but as to learning by heart, and retaining the gross elements of the language, it was a most difficult affair. He was constantly confounding one thing with another; and it would have been thought too fastidious to require too scrupulous a regularity at first. Another difficulty was, that with the same letters, the same vowels as ours, a totally different pronunciation is required: the scholar would allow of none but ours; and the master would have rendered the difficulties and disagreeables tenfold, had he required any better. Besides the scholar, even in his own language, was incorrigibly addicted to maiming

proper names and foreign words; he pronounced them quite at his own discretion, and when once they had passed his lips, they always remained the same, in spite of every thing, because he had thus got them, once for all, lodged, as it were, in his head. The same thing happened with respect to most of our English words; and the master found it best to have the prudence and patience to let it pass; leaving it to time to rectify by degrees, if it should ever be possible, all these defects. From these concurring circumstances actually sprang a new language. It was understood by me alone, it is true; but it procured the Emperor the pleasure of reading English, and he could, in the strictest sense, make himself understood by writing in that language. This was a great deal; it was every thing.

In the mean time, the Emperor regularly continued his Campaigns of Egypt with the Grand Marshal. My Campaign of Italy had long been finished; we were always touching and retouching it, with respect to its typographical form, the arrangement of the chapters, the division of the paragraphs, &c. The small part of it that remained in my hands will be seen in the course of this work.

From time to time he also dictated separate parts to Messrs. Gourgaud and Montholon. To all this work he added very little exercise: a walk now and then, sometimes a ride in the calash,

scarcely ever on horseback. On the 30th, however, he chose to return to our valley of Silence, which we had long deserted. We were near the middle of the vale; the passage was stopped up with dead bushes, and a kind of bar to restrain cattle. The servant (the faithful Aly) dismounted, as usual, to clear the way for us. We passed on; but, whilst the servant was engaged in assisting us, his horse had strayed from him, and, when he attempted to catch him, ran away. A great quantity of rain had fallen, and the horse sank into a quagmire similar to that in which the Emperor, a few days after our arrival at Longwood, had stuck so tenaciously as to make it doubtful whether he would not remain in it. The servant ran after us to say, that he must remain for the purpose of disengaging his horse. We were in a very difficult narrow road, riding one by one. It was not until some time after, that the Emperor heard us mention to one another the accident of the servant. He found great fault because we had not waited for him, and desired the Grand Marshal and General Gourgaud to return for him. The Emperor dismounted to wait for them, and ascended a little elevation, on which he looked like a figure on a pedestal in the midst of ruins. He had the bridle of his horse passed round his arm, and began to whistle an air; mute nature echoed the strains, but only to the barren desert. "Yet," thought I; "a short time ago, how many

"sceptres he wielded! how many crowns be-
"longed to him! how many kings were at his
"feet! It is true," said I, "that in the eyes of
"those who approach him, who daily see and
"hear him, he is still greater than ever! This
"is the sentiment, the opinion of all about him.
"We serve him with no less ardour; we love him
"with greater affection than ever."

But now the Grand Marshal and Gourgaud arrived; they assisted the Emperor to mount again, and we went on. These gentlemen acknowledged that without their assistance the horse could never have been saved; the united efforts of all three had barely sufficed to disengage him. A considerable time afterwards, turning an elbow of the road, the Emperor observed that the servant had not followed, and said they ought to have remained till they had found he was in a condition to come on. They thought he had staid behind to clean his horse a little. In the course of our ride, at several other turnings the Emperor repeated the same observation. We arrived at the Grand Marshal's, went in, and rested there a few minutes: as we came out, the Emperor asked whether the servant had passed on; no one had seen him. When we arrived at Longwood, his first question was whether the man had returned. He had been at home some time, having returned by a different road.

I may perhaps have dwelt somewhat too much

on this trifling circumstance; but I did so because it appeared to me perfectly characteristic. In this domestic solicitude, the reader will find it difficult to recognise the insensible, obdurate, wicked, cruel monster, the tyrant, of whom he has so often and so long been told.

N. B. I have mentioned, above, that I should introduce the fragments of the Campaign of Italy which have remained in my hands. Having now arrived at the end of a month, I will insert a few chapters of them.

On my return to France, through that fatal event which placed me at my own disposal, my motives for retaining to myself alone the fragments of the Campaign of Italy, which I had preserved by the Emperor's consent, no longer existing, and the detention of my papers by the English ministry leaving me no means of publishing any thing on Saint-Helena, I distributed some of these fragments, attaching no other condition to their being made public than that of distinctly declaring that they were mere rough drafts, first dictations, which have, no doubt, subsequently undergone great alterations. Now that the restoration of my papers has enabled me to publish the Journal of Saint-Helena, I have thought of collecting all these fragments of the Campaign of Italy, conceiving that they will not be uninteresting to those who like to compare the first sketch with the more deliberate ideas; and particularly as

I learn from the depositaries of the manuscript of these Campaigns, that it was the Emperor's will that the whole should be splendidly published, with maps, plans, &c. and dedicated to his Son, and have every reason to believe that it will still be a long time before society can be gratified with this publication. I shall therefore insert the little I possess, which is seven chapters out of twenty-two, either at the conclusion of the months, or in the course of the Journal itself, if I find it flag.

I now present the first of these fragments: Vendemiaire, the Battle of Montenotte, and part of the third chapter, on the Topography of Italy.

THE THIRTEENTH OF VENDEMIAIRE.

N.B. All the words in Italics are corrections made in the original manuscript by Napoleon's own hand.

I. *Constitution of the Year III.*—The fall of the municipality of the 31st of May, of the party of Danton, and of Robespierre, produced, eventually, the fall of the Jacobins, and the end of the revolutionary government. *Afterwards,* the Convention was successively governed by factions, which were never able to acquire any preponderance; its principles varied every month. The interior of the Republic was *afflicted* by a horrible system of re-action; the national domains ceased to find purchasers, and the credit of the assignats sinking daily lower, the armies were unpaid; requisitions and the maximum had alone kept them supplied; the magazines were empty; the soldier was no longer sure even of bread. The recruiting of the army, the laws respecting which had been enforced with the greatest rigour under the revolutionary government, had ceased. The

armies continued to obtain great advantages, because they were more numerous than ever; but they were suffering daily losses, which there *were* no means of repairing. The foreign party, supported by the pretext of the restoration of the Bourbons, gained strength every day. The saloons were open, people discoursed there fearlessly; the communications with foreign parts were become more easy: the destruction of the Republic was undisguisedly preparing. The Revolution had lost its novelty; it had alienated many interests; an iron hand had severely oppressed individuals. Many crimes had been committed; they were now most vindictively recalled to memory, and the public indignation was daily more violently excited against all those who had been members of the government, filled official situations, or participated, in any manner whatsoever, in the triumphs of the Revolution.

Pichegru, the first general of the Republic, had been gained over. He was the son of a labourer of Franche-comté, and had been a Minim friar in his youth, at the college of Brienne: he sold himself to the royal party, to whom he surrendered the successes of the operations of his army.

The enemies of the Republic had not many proselytes in the army; it remained faithful to the principles of the Revolution, for which it had shed so much blood, and gained so many victories.

All parties were tired of the Convention; nay,

it was tired of itself. Its mission had been the establishment of a Constitution; it perceived, at length, that the safety of the nation and its own required it, without delay, *to fulfil its principal object*. On the 25th of June, 1795, it adopted the Constitution, known under the title of the Constitution of the Year III. The government was intrusted to five persons, under the name of the Directory; the legislature to two councils, called the Council of the Five Hundred, and the Council of the Ancients. This Constitution was submitted to the acceptance of the people called together in primary assembly.

II. *Additional Laws to the Constitution.*—It was a prevalent opinion, that the fall of the Constitution of 1794, was to be attributed to that law of the Constituent Assembly *which excluded its members from the legislature*. The Convention did not *fall into* the same error; it annexed two additional laws to the Constitution, by which it prescribed that two-thirds of the new legislature should be composed of members of the Convention, and that the electoral assemblies of departments should, on this occasion, only have to elect one-third of the two councils. The Convention farther prescribed, that these two additional laws should be submitted to the acceptance of the people, as inseparable parts of the Constitution.

The discontent was thenceforth general. The foreign party, in particular, found all its schemes

baffled by these arrangements. It had flattered itself that the two councils would have been entirely composed of new men, strangers to the Revolution, or even, partly, of those who had suffered by it; and thence it hoped to effect a counter-revolution through the influence of the legislature itself.

This party did not want for plausible reasons to conceal the true grounds of its discontent; they alleged that the rights of the people were disregarded, since the Convention, which had been appointed only to establish a Constitution, now usurped the powers of an electoral body, by giving to its members, of its own accord, the powers of a legislative body; that it was plain that the Convention knew that it was acting contrary to the intention of the people, because it imposed on the primary assemblies the *arbitrary* condition of voting at once on the aggregate of the Constitution, and its additional laws. The Convention ought only to will that which was the will of the people. Why did it not allow them to vote separately on the Constitution and the additional laws? Because it knew that the additional laws would be unanimously rejected. As to the Constitution, in itself, it was preferable, no doubt, to what existed; and all parties were agreed on that point. Some, indeed, wanted to have a President, instead of five Directors; others would have desired a more popular council: but

in general this new Constitution was favorably regarded. As to the foreign faction, which was managed by secret committees, it concerned itself but little about forms of government which it did not intend to support; it only studied, in this Constitution, how to avail itself thereof, for the purpose of operating a counter-revolution; and whatever tendered to wrest authority out of the hands of the Convention and its partizans, was agreeable to this party.

III. *The additional Laws are rejected by the Sections of Paris.*—The forty-eight Sections of Paris assembled, forming as many tribunes, to which the most violent orators immediately hastened: Laharpe, Serizi, Lacretelle the younger, Vaublanc, Regnault, &c. *It required* little ability to excite all minds against the Convention; but several of these orators developed great talents.

The capital was thus thrown into a ferment.—*After the 9th of Thermidor, the* National Guard *had been organized.* It had been made an object to keep the Jacobins out of it; but this had led to the opposite extreme, and a considerable number of counter-revolutionists were accordingly found in its ranks.

This National Guard consisted of upwards of forty thousand men, armed and clothed. It shared fully in the exasperation of the Sections against the Convention; and the additional laws were rejected throughout Paris. The Sections appear-

ed, one after another, at the bar of the Convention, and there warmly declared their sentiments. The Convention, however, still believed that all this agitation would subside, as soon as the provinces should have manifested their opinion by accepting the Constitution and the additional laws. It thought this commotion in the capital was like those riots so common in London, and of which instances often happened at Rome at the time of the Comitia. It proclaimed, on the 28th of September, the acceptance of the Constitution and additional laws by the majority of the primary assemblies; but on the following day the Sections of Paris appointed deputies to form a central assembly of electors, which met at the Odeon.

IV. *Armed resistance of the Sections of Paris.*—The Sections had calculated their own strength, and appreciated the weakness of the Convention: this assembly of electors was an assembly of insurgents.

The *Convention* annulled the assembly of the Odeon, declared it illegal, and ordered its committees to dissolve it by force. On the 10th of Vendemiaire the armed power proceeded to the Odeon, and executed this order. The people collected in the Place de l'Odeon, uttered some murmurs, and indulged in some railing, but offered no resistance.

The decree of the Convention for shutting up the Odeon excited the indignation of all the Sec-

tions. That of Lepelletier, of which the central place was the Convent of the Filles-Saint-Thomas, appeared to take the lead in this movement. By a decree of the Convention it was ordered that the place of its sittings should be closed, the assembly dissolved, and the Section disarmed.

On the 12th of Vendemiaire (3d October,) at seven or eight in the evening, General Menou, accompanied by the representatives of the people, who were Commissioners to the Army of the interior, proceeded with a numerous body of troops to the place of meeting of the Section Lepelletier, to carry into execution the decree of the Convention. The infantry, cavalry, and artillery were all crowded together in the rue Vivienne, at the extremity of which is the Convent of the Filles-Saint-Thomas. The sectionaries occupied *the windows of* the houses of this street; several of their battalions drew up in order of battle in the court of the convent, and the military force, which General Menou commanded, *found itself compromised.*

The committee of the Section had declared itself a representation of the sovereign people, in the exercise of its functions; it refused to obey the orders of the Convention; and after spending an hour in useless negotiations, General Menou and the Commissioners of the Convention withdrew, by a species of capitulation, without having dispersed or disarmed the meeting.

V. *Menou is deprived of the command of the Army of the Interior.*—The Section, thus victorious, declared itself permanent; sent deputations to all the other Sections; boasted its success, and hastened the organization necessary for securing the success of its resistance. Preparations commenced for the 13th of Vendemiaire.

General Bonaparte, who had been for some months attached to the directors of the movements of the French armies, was in a box at the theatre Feydeau, when some of his friends informed him of the singular events that were passing. He was curious to witness the particulars of so grand a spectacle. Seeing the Conventional troops repulsed, he hastened to the Assembly to observe the effect of this intelligence, and to trace the developements and character which would there be given to it.

The Convention was in the greatest agitation. The representatives with the army, in order to exculpate themselves, loudly accused Menou. The consequences of his want of skill were ascribed to treason. He was placed under arrest.

Various representatives then appeared at the tribune; they described the extent of the danger. The news which every moment arrived from the Sections, shewed, but too plainly, how great the peril actually was. Every member recommended the general who possessed his confidence. Those

who had been at Toulon, and with the army of Italy, and the members of the Committee of Public Safety, who were in daily communication with Napoleon, proposed him as more capable than any other person, from the promptness of his *coup-d'œil*, and the energy of his character, of bringing them safely through the present danger. Messengers were sent into the city to seek him.

Napoleon, who had heard all that had been said, and knew what was in agitation, deliberated with himself more than half an hour on the course most eligible for him to pursue. A deadly war was breaking out between the Convention and Paris. *Would it be prudent to declare himself*—to speak in the name of all France? Who would dare to enter the lists alone as the champion of the Convention? Victory itself would be attended with a degree of odium, whilst defeat would devote the unsuccessful combatant to the eternal execration of future generations.

Why thus devote himself to be the scapegoat of crimes to which he had been a stranger? Why voluntarily expose himself to add, in a few hours, one more to the list of those names which men shudder to pronounce?

But, on the other hand, if the Convention should sink, what would become of the great truths of our Revolution? Our numerous victories, our blood so often shed, would then be only disgraceful actions. The foreigner, whom we had often van-

quished, would triumph, and load us with his contempt; an insolent unnatural crew would reappear triumphant; would reproach us with our crimes; would indulge their revenge, and rule us, like helots, by foreign force.

Thus the defeat of the Convention would place a victorious crown on the brows of the foreigner, and seal the disgrace and slavery of the nation.

This sentiment—the ardour of five-and-twenty—confidence in his own powers and his destiny, prevailed. *He made up his mind, and went to the Committee,* to which he represented with energy the impossibility of directing so important an operation, while subject to the interference of three representatives, who, in fact, exercised all power, and impeded all the operations of the general. He added, that he had witnessed all the proceedings of the rue Vivienne; that the Commissioners had been chiefly to blame, and had, nevertheless, acted the part of accusers in the assembly with triumphant success.

Struck with these arguments, but unable to deprive the Commissioners of their functions without a long discussion in the assembly, the committee, to conciliate matters, *for they had no time to lose,* resolved to select the General from the assembly itself. With this view, it proposed Barras to the Convention, as General-in-chief, and gave the command to Napoleon, who thus found himself relieved from the three Commis-

sioners, without their having any thing to complain of.

As soon as Napoleon found himself invested with the command of the forces destined to protect the Assembly, he went to one of the cabinets of the Tuileries, where Menou remained, to obtain from him the necessary information as to the force and position of the troops and artillery. The army consisted of only five thousand soldiers of all descriptions, with forty pieces of cannon, then at the Sablons, guarded by fifteen men: it was an hour after midnight. Napoleon instantly despatched a major of the 21st light horse (Murat) with three hundred cavalry, to proceed, with all possible expedition, to the Sablons, and bring off the artillery to the garden of the Tuileries. One moment more would have been too late. This officer, on arriving at the Sablons at two o'clock, fell in with the head of a column of the Section Lepelletier, come for the purpose of carrying off the artillery; but his troops being cavalry, and the ground a plain, the Section retreated: and at six in the morning the forty guns entered the Tuileries.

VI. *Dispositions for the attack and defence of the Tuileries.*—From six o'clock to nine Napoleon visited all the posts, and placed this artillery at the head of the Pont Louis XVI. of the Pont Royal, of the rue de Rohan, at thè Cul-de-sac Dauphin, in the rue St. Honoré, at the Pont Tournant, &c. He

intrusted the custody of the guns to officers worthy of confidence. All the matches were lighted, and the whole of the little army was distributed at the different posts, or in reserve at the garden, and the *Place Carrousel.* The generale beat throughout Paris, and the National Guards formed at all the debouches; thus surrounding the palace and gardens. Their drums carried their insolence so far as to come and beat the generale on the Carrousel, and the Place Louis XV.

The danger was imminent. Forty thousand National Guards well armed and trained, presented themselves as the enemies of the Convention: the troops of the line intrusted with its defence were few in number, and might easily be brought over by the sentiments of the population which surrounded them. The Convention, in order to increase its forces, armed 1500 individuals called the Patriots of 1789. They were men, who, after the 9th of Thermidor, had lost their employments and quitted their departments, where they were persecuted by public opinion. Three battalions were formed of them, which were placed under the command of General Berruyer. These men fought with the greatest valour. Their example influenced the troops of the line, and they were of the greatest importance to the success of this day.

A Committee of forty members, composed of the Committees of Public Safety and General Se-

curity, directed all affairs. Cambacérès was president: they discussed much, and decided nothing; while the pressure of the danger increased every moment.

Some were desirous to lay down their arms, and receive the sectionaries as the Roman Senators received the Gauls. Others were desirous that the Assembly should retire to Cæsar's camp at the heights of Saint-Cloud, there to be joined by the Army of the coasts of the ocean. Others wished deputations to be sent to all the Forty-eight Sections, *to make various propositions to them.* During these vain discussions, at two in the afternoon, a man named Lafond debouched on the Pont Neuf, coming from the Section Lepelletier at the head of three or four battalions; whilst another column of the same force advanced from the Odeon to meet them. *They joined* in the Place Dauphine.

General Cartaux, who had been stationed at Pont Neuf with 400 men and four pieces of cannon, with orders to defend the two sides of the bridge, abandoned his post, and fell back under the wickets. At the same time a battalion of the National Guard occupied the garden of the Infanta: they professed to be well affected towards the Convention, and nevertheless seized on this post without orders. On another side Saint-Roch, the Theatre Français, and the hotel Noailles, were occupied in force by the National Guard. The

opposite posts were not more than from twelve to fifteen yards asunder. The sectionaries every moment sent women, or advanced themselves, unarmed, and waving their hats over their heads, to fraternize with the troops of the line.

VII. *Action of the 13th of Vendemiaire.*—Matters grew worse every moment. At three o'clock, Danican, general of the Sections, sent a flag of truce to summon the Convention to dismiss the troops which threatened the people, and to disarm the Terrorists. This messenger traversed the posts blindfolded, with all the forms of war. He was thus introduced into the midst of the Committee of the Forty, in which he caused a great sensation by his threats. He was sent back towards four o'clock. The night was coming on, and there could be no doubt that darkness must be favourable to the Sections, considering their great number. They might creep from house to house into all the avenues of the Tuileries, already strictly blockaded. About the same time seven hundred musquets, belts and cartridge-boxes were brought into the hall of the Convention to arm the members themselves as a corps-de-reserve, which alarmed many of them who had not until then comprehended the *magnitude* of the danger in which they stood.

At length, at a quarter after four, some musquets were discharged from the hotel de Noailles, into which the sectionaries had introduced themselves;

the balls reached the steps of the Tuileries. At the same instant, Lafond's column debouched by the quay Voltaire, marching over the Pont Royal. The batteries were then ordered to fire. An eight-pounder, at the Cul-de-sac Dauphin, commenced the fire, and served as a signal to all the posts.—After several discharges, Saint-Roch was carried: Lafond's column, the head and flank of which were both exposed to the cannonade from the quay, at the point of the Louvre wicket, and from the head of Pont Royal, was routed. The rue Saint-Honoré, the rue Saint-Florentin, and the adjacent places, were swept by the guns. About a hundred men attempted to make a stand at the Theatre de la Republique; a few shells from the howitzers dislodged them in an instant. At six o'clock all was over.

If a few cannon were heard at long intervals in *the course of the night*, it was to prevent the barricades which some inhabitants had attempted to form with casks.

There were about two hundred killed and wounded on the part of the sectionaries, and nearly as many on the side of the Convention; the greater part *of the latter*, at the gates of Saint-Roch.

The Section of the Quinze-Vingts, faubourg St.-Antoine, was the only one that took part with the Convention; it furnished 250 men: so completely had the late political oscillations of this

body *alienated all classes* from it. The Faubourgs, however, if they did not rise in favour of the Convention, certainly did not act against it. It is untrue, that in the commencement of the action the troops were ordered to fire with powder only; that would only have served to embolden the sectionaries and to endanger the troops; but it is a fact, that when once they were engaged, and success had ceased to be doubtful, they fired without ball.

VIII. *The 14th of Vendemiaire.*—Some assemblages still continued to take place in the Section Lepelletier.

On the 14th in the morning some columns debouched against them by the Boulevards, the rue Richelieu, and the Palais Royal. Some cannon had been placed in the principal avenues. The sectionaries were promptly dislodged, and the rest of the day was employed in going over the city, visiting the chief houses of the Sections, gathering in arms, and reading proclamations. In the evening order was completely restored, and Paris was once more perfectly quiet.

After this great event, when the officers of the Army of the interior were presented in a body to the Convention, the members, by acclamation, appointed Bonaparte General-in-chief of this army; Barras being no longer allowed to unite the title of representative of the people with military functions.

General Menou was delivered over to a council of war: his death was required. The General-in-chief saved him by telling the judges that if Menou deserved death, the three representatives who had directed the operations and parleyed with the sectionaries, merited the same punishment: that the Convention ought to bring its three members to trial before it proceeded against Menou. The corporate spirit prevailed over the voices of Menou's enemies.

The same commission condemned several individuals to *death*, in contumacy, *amongst others* Vaublanc. Lafond was the only person executed. This young man had evinced great courage in the action; the head of his column, on the Pont Royal, formed again three times under the fire of grape-shot, before it entirely gave way. He was an emigrant; there was no possibility of saving him, however it might have been wished to do so: his imprudent answers constantly defeated the good intention of his judges.

IX. *Napoleon, commander-in-chief of the Army of the Interior.*—After the 13th of Vendemiaire, Napoleon had to re-organize the National Guard, which was an object of the highest importance, as it then reckoned no less than 104 battalions.

At the same time he formed the guard of the Directory, and re-organized that of the Legislative Body. These very circumstances proved eventually one of the causes of his success on the famous 18th of Brumaire. He had left such im-

pressions on this corps, that on his return from Egypt, although the Directory had recommended its soldiers to pay him no military honours except when he was in full uniform, nothing could hinder them from beating *To the field*, whenever, and in whatever dress they saw him.

The few months that Napoleon commanded the Army of the interior, were replete with difficulties and embarrassments.

These were the installation of a new government, the members of which were divided amongst themselves, and often in opposition to the councils; a silent ferment amongst the old sectionaries who composed the majority of Paris; the active turbulence of the Jacobins, who assembled anew under the name of the Society of the Pantheon; the foreign agents of Royalism, *who* formed a powerful party; the discredit of the finances and paper-money, which spread extreme discontent amongst the troops; and above all, the horrible famine which, at this period, afflicted the capital.

Ten or twelve times the supply of provisions failed entirely, and the scanty daily distributions which Government had been compelled to establish were interrupted. It required no ordinary degree of activity and address to surmount so many obstacles, and to maintain tranquillity in the capital in spite of such a combination of calamities and difficulties.

The Society of the Pantheon daily gave the

Directory new causes of uneasiness. The police durst not venture an open attack on this society. The General-in-chief caused the place of its meetings to be sealed up, and the members never stirred more whilst he was in the way. It was not until after his departure that they appeared again, under the influence of Babeuf, Antonelle, and others, and produced the eruption at the camp of Grenelle.

Napoleon frequently had to harangue at the markets, in the streets, in the sections, and faubourgs; and here it is worthy of remark that he always found the faubourg Saint-Antoine the most ready to listen to reason, and the most susceptible of a generous impulse.

It was during his command of Paris, that Napoleon became acquainted with Madame de Beauharnois.

After the general disarming of the Sections had been effected, a youth of ten or twelve years of age presented himself before the staff, entreating the General-in-chief to give orders for restoring to him the sword of his father, who had been a general of the Republic. This youth was Eugene Beauharnois, afterwards Viceroy of Italy. Napoleon, moved by the nature of his request, and by his juvenile grace, granted his petition. Eugene burst into tears on beholding his father's sword. The General was touched at his sensibility, and behaved so kindly to him that Madame

de Beauharnois thought it incumbent on her to wait on him the next day to thank him for his attention. Napoleon returned her visit without delay.

Every one knows the extraordinary grace of the Empress Josephine, her sweet and attractive manners. The acquaintance soon became intimate and tender, and it was not long before they married.

X. *Napoleon appointed General-in-chief of the Army of Italy.*—Scherer, who commanded the Army of Italy, was reproached with not having known how to profit by his victory of Loano; his subsequent conduct had not given great satisfaction. Many more official than military characters were seen at his head-quarters at Nice. This general asked for money to pay his troops and re-organize the various branches of the service; and for horses, to replace those of his cavalry which had perished for want of food. The Government could give him neither the one nor the other. Evasive answers were given to his demands, and empty promises were made to amuse him. He then declared, that if any farther delay took place, he should be compelled to evacuate the Genoese country, to return to the Roya, and, perhaps, even to repass the Var. The Directory resolved to supersede him.

A young general of twenty-five could no longer remain at the head of the Army of the interior. The public opinion of his talents, and the confi-

dence which the Army of Italy had in him, designated him as the only man capable of extricating it from the embarrassing situation in which it stood. The conferences which he had with the Directory on this head, and the projects which he submitted to its consideration, left no farther doubt. He set out for Nice, and General Hatri, who was sixty years of age, came from the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, to succeed him in the command of the Army of the interior, which had become of less importance, now that the crisis of scarcity was over, and the government was firmly established.

BATTLE OF MONTENOTTE.

From the arrival of the General-in-Chief at Nice, on the 28th of March, 1796, to the Armistice of Cherasco, the 28th of April following, being one month.

I. *Plan of Campaign for entering Italy by turning the Alps.*—The King of Sardinia, who, from his military and geographical position, had acquired the title of Porter of the Alps, had, in 1796, fortresses at the openings of all the passes leading into Piedmont. If it had been wished to penetrate into Italy by forcing the Alps, it would have been necessary to gain possession of these fortresses. Now the roads did not allow the carriage of a battering-train; besides, the mountains are covered with snow during three quarters of the year, which leaves but little time for besieging these places. A plan was, therefore, formed for turning all the Alps, and for entering Italy precisely at the point where these high mountains terminate, and where the Apennines begin.

The Saint-Gothard is the most elevated pass of the Alps. From thence all the others gradually decrease in height. Thus the Saint-Gothard is higher than the Brenner; the latter higher than the mountains of Cadore; the mountains of Cadore than the Col de Tarvis and the mountains of Carniola. On the other side, the Saint-Gothard is higher than the Simplon; the Simplon higher than the Saint-Bernard, which is higher than Mount Cenis; and Mount Cenis higher than the Col di Tende. From the latter point the Alps continually decrease in height, and at length terminate at the mountains of Saint-Jaques, near Savona, where the Apennines begin. Then the chain of the Apennines rises again, and proceeds constantly increasing in an inverse direction; so that the Bocchetta, the neighbouring hills, those which separate Liguria from the states of Parma, Tuscany, the Modenese, and the Bolognese, keep always rising. The valley of Madonna, of Savona, and the hills of Saint-Jaques and Montenotte, are therefore, the lowest points both of the Alps and Apennines; the spot at which the former finish, and the latter commence.

Savona, a seaport and fortified town, was placed in such a manner, as to serve both for a magazine and point of appui. From that town to Madonna the road is a firm hard road, three miles long; and from Madonna to Carcari, it is four or five miles more. The latter space might be rendered

practicable for artillery in a few days. At Carcari are carriage roads, which lead into the interior of Piedmont and Montferrat.

This was the only point by which Italy could be entered without passing mountains: the elevations of the ground are there so inconsiderable, that at a subsequent period, during the Imperial reign, a canal was projected, which was to have connected the Adriatic with the Mediterranean, by the assistance of the Po, and of a branch of the Bormida, which has its source in the heights near Savona.

In penetrating into Italy by the sources of the Bormida, some hopes might be entertained of separating and intersecting the Sardinian and Austrian armies; because from that position Lombardy and Piedmont were both menaced. It was as practicable to march on Milan as on Turin. The Piedmontese were interested in covering Turin, and the Austrians in defending Milan.

II. *State of the two Armies.*—The enemy's army was commanded by General Beaulieu, a distinguished officer, who had gained reputation in the campaigns of the North. This army was well provided with all that was calculated to render it formidable. The French army, on the contrary, was in want of every thing, and its Government was unable to supply it. The army of the Allies was composed of Austrians, Sardinians, and Neapolitans; they already amounted to three times

the number of the French army, and were to be increased successively by the forces of the Pope, by reinforcements from Naples, and by the troops of Modena and Parma.

This army was divided into two grand corps: the effective army of Austria, composed of four divisions, of a strong artillery, and a numerous cavalry, increased by a Neapolitan division, forming a total of 60,000 men under arms. The effective army of Sardinia, composed of three Piedmontese divisions, and an Austrian division of 4000 cavalry, was commanded by the Austrian General Colli, who was himself under the command of General Beaulieu. The rest of the Sardinian forces garrisoned the fortresses, or defended the passes opposite the French army of the Alps; they were commanded by the Duke of Aosta.

The French army was composed of four effective divisions under Generals Massena, Augereau, Laharpe, and Serrurier. Each of these divisions could, one with another, muster from 6 to 7000 men under arms. The cavalry, amounting to 3000, was in the most miserable condition, though it had been a long time on the Rhone to recruit itself; but it had wanted for provisions.—The arsenals of Antibes and Nice were well furnished; but means of transport were wanting: all the draught horses had perished for want. The penury of the French finances was so great

that all the efforts of the Government could only furnish 2000 louis in specie to the military chest of the army for the opening of the campaign; there was, therefore, nothing to be expected from France. Henceforth no resources were to be hoped for, except from victory. It was only in the plains of Italy that means of conveyance could be organized, the artillery furnished with teams, the soldiers clothed, and the cavalry mounted. All this would be gained by forcing the passage of Italy. The French had, indeed, at most but 30,000 men; whilst more than 90,000 were opposed to them. If these two armies had had to contend with each other in a general engagement, no doubt the inferiority of the French army in point of numbers, artillery, and cavalry, would have ensured its easy overthrow; but as it was situated, it was enabled to supply the want of numbers by the rapidity of its marches; the deficiency of artillery by the nature of its manœuvres; its inferiority in cavalry by the nature of its positions.—The character of our troops was excellent: all the men had served in the other campaigns of Italy, or in those of the Pyrenees.

III. *Napoleon arrives at Nice.* — Napoleon arrived at Nice between the 26th and 29th of March. The picture of the army which Scherer laid before him, was still worse than he had been able to form any idea of. The supply of bread was very uncertain; distributions of

meat had long ceased; for means of conveyance there were only mules, and not above 200 of these could be reckoned upon; it was impossible to think of transporting above twelve pieces of cannon; the position of the army grew worse every day. Not an instant was to be lost: the army could no longer subsist where it was; it was necessary either to advance or recede.

The French General gave orders to put the army in motion. He wished to surprise the enemy in the very opening of the campaign, and dazzle and confound them by brilliant and decisive advantages.

The head-quarters had never quitted Nice since the beginning of the war; they were ordered to be transferred to Albenga. All the civil lists had long considered their posts as fixed, and concerned themselves much more about their own comforts, than the wants of the army. The French General reviewed the troops, and said to them, "Soldiers, you are naked, ill fed; much is "due to us, there is nothing to pay us with. The "patience and courage you have shewn in the "midst of these rocks, are admirable; but they "win you no glory. I come to lead you into "the most fertile plains in the world. Rich "provinces, great cities, will be in our power; "there you will have wealth, honour, and glory. "Soldiers of Italy, can your courage fail?"

Speeches like this, from a young General of

twenty-five, in whom great confidence was already placed, on account of the brilliant operations of Toulon, Saorgio, and Savona, directed by him in the course of the preceding years, were received with the most lively acclamations.

For the purpose of turning the Alps, and entering Italy by the Col di Cadibona, it was necessary to assemble the whole army on its extreme right; which would have been a dangerous operation, if the snow had not then covered the debouches of the Alps. The transition from the defensive to the offensive order, is one of the most delicate operations in war. Serrurier was placed at Garezzio with his division, to observe the camps which Colli had at Ceva; Massena and Augereau were placed in reserve at Loano, Finale, and as far as Savona. Laharpe marched to menace Genoa; his van-guard, commanded by Gervoni, occupied Voltri. At the same instant the General-in-chief caused the passage of the Bocchetta and the keys of Gavi to be demanded of the Senate of Genoa. Great apprehensions prevailed in Genoa; the councils placed themselves in permanence.

IV. *Battle of Montenotte*, 11th of April.—Beaulieu, alarmed, hastened with all possible speed from Milan to the succour of Genoa. He removed his head-quarters to Novi, divided his army into three corps; the right, under Colli, composed of Piedmontese, had its head-quar-

ters at Ceva; it was intrusted with the defence of the Stura and Tanaro. The centre, under the command of Dargentau, marched on Montenotte, to intersect the French army by falling on its left flank, and cutting it at Savona on the road of the Cornice. Beaulieu, in person, with his left, covered Genoa, and marched on Voltri. At the first glance these dispositions seemed skilful: but on more profound investigation of the circumstances of the country, it will be seen that Beaulieu divided his force by these means, because all direct communication between his centre and his left became impracticable, except behind the mountains; whilst the French army, on the contrary, was placed in such a manner that it could join in a few hours, and fall in a mass on either of the corps of the enemy; and when one of them should be totally defeated, the other must necessarily retreat.

General Dargentau, commanding the centre of the enemy's army, encamped at Lower Montenotte, on the 9th of April. On the 10th, he marched on Monte-Legino, to debouch by Madonna. Colonel Rampon, who had been ordered to keep the three redoubts of Monte-Legino, having received intelligence of the march of the enemy, pushed forward a strong reconnoitring party to meet them. This party was driven back, from noon till two o'clock, when it entered the redoubts again. Dargentau at-

tempted to carry them by an instantaneous assault; he was repulsed in three successive attacks, and gave up the scheme. As his troops were fatigued, he took up a position, and put off turning these redoubts, in order to reduce them, until the morrow. Beaulieu, on his side, debouched on the 9th, on Genoa.

On the 10th, Laharpe was engaged all day with Beaulieu's van-guard before Voltri, disputing the passes with him, and keeping him in check. But in the evening of the 10th, he fell back on Savona; and on the 11th, at daybreak, he found himself with his whole division in the rear of Rampon and the redoubts of Monte-Legino. In the same night of the 10th, the General-in-chief marched with the divisions of Massena and Augereau by the Col di Cadibona, and debouched behind Montenotte. At daybreak, Dargentau, surrounded on all sides, was attacked in front by Rampon and Laharpe, and in rear and flank by the General-in-chief. Dargentau was completely routed; his whole corps was cut to pieces, at the same time that Beaulieu arrived before Voltri, where he now found no enemy. He did not hear of the defeat at Montenotte, and the entrance of the French into Piedmont, till the 12th. He was then obliged to make his troops fall back, and repass the bad roads into which the dispositions of his plan had thrown him. The consequence

was, that three days afterwards, at the battle of Millesimo, only part of his troops could come up in time.

V. *Battle of Millesimo, 14th of April.*—On the 12th, the head-quarters of the French army were at Carcari: the defeated army had retired; the Piedmontese on Millesimo, and the Austrians on Dego. These two positions were connected by a Piedmontese division, which was ordered to occupy the heights of Biestro. At Millesimo, the Piedmontese were on both sides of the road which covers Piedmont; they were joined by Colli with all the force he had been able to bring up from the right. At Dego the Austrians occupied the position which defends the Acqui road, the direct way into the Milanese: they were successively joined by all the troops Beaulieu could bring back from Voltri; they were in a good position for receiving all the reinforcements that might be sent to them from Lombardy. Thus the two great debouches of Piedmont and the Milanese were covered: the enemy flattered themselves that they should have time to establish and intrench themselves there. However advantageous the battle of Montenotte had been for us, the enemy had found means to repair their losses, through the superiority of their numbers: but the next day but one, the 14th, opened to us the two roads of Turin and Milan. Augereau,

forming the left of the French army, marched on Millesimo; Massena, with the centre, directed his march on Dego; and Laharpe, commanding the right, took his way by the heights of Cairo. The enemy had formed an appui for their right, by causing the hill of Cosseria, which commands the two branches of the Bormida, to be occupied; but from the 13th, General Augereau, who had not engaged at the battle of Montenotte, pushed the enemy's right with such impetuosity, that he carried the passes of Millesimo, and surrounded the hill of Cosseria. Provera, with his rear-guard, two thousand strong, was cut off. In this desperate situation, General Provera resolved to brave all extremities: he took refuge in an old ruined castle, and there barricadoed himself. From its top he saw the right of the Sardinian army making dispositions for the battle of the following day, by which he hoped to be extricated. All Colli's troops, from the camp of Ceva, were expected to arrive in the course of the night. The French, therefore, felt it of the greatest importance to gain possession of the castle of Cosseria in the course of the day; but this post was very strong, and their attack failed. The next day the two armies engaged. Massena and Laharpe carried Dego, after an obstinate conflict. Menars and Joubert carried the heights of Biestro. All Colli's attacks to extricate Provera were unsuccessful; he was defeated, and hotly pursued;

Provera was then compelled to lay down his arms. The enemy, briskly followed up into the passes of Spigno, left there part of his artillery, with *many colours and prisoners.* The separation of the two armies of Austria and Sardinia was, thenceforward, complete. Beaulieu removed his head-quarters to Acqui, *on the Milanese road,* and Colli returned to Ceva, to prevent the junction of Serrurier, and cover Turin.

VI. *Battle of Dego, August* 15.—In the mean time, a division of Austrian grenadiers, who had been directed from Voltri by Sassello, arrived at three in the morning at Dego. The position was no longer occupied but by advanced posts. These grenadiers, therefore, easily carried the village, and created great alarm at the French head-quarters, where they could not comprehend how the enemy could be at Dego, while we had advanced posts on the Acqui road. After two hours hard fighting, Dego was retaken, and almost the whole of the enemy's division were made prisoners.

In these affairs, we lost General Banel at Millesimo, and General de Causse at Dego. These two officers were distinguished by the most brilliant valour; they both came from the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, and it was remarkable that the officers who came from that army evinced the most extraordinary impetuosity and courage. It was at the village of Dego that Napoleon first distinguished a chief of battalion, whom

he made a colonel; this was Lannes, who afterwards was a Marshal of the Empire, and Duke of Montebello, and displayed talents of the first order. He will henceforth be seen to take the principal part in all military events.

The French General now directed his operations against Colli and the King of Sardinia, and contented himself with keeping the Austrians in check. Laharpe was placed in observation near Dego, to secure our rear, and keep Beaulieu in check, who, being greatly weakened, was now chiefly occupied in rallying and re-organizing the wreck of his army. Laharpe's division being compelled to remain several days in this position, suffered greatly from the scarcity of provisions, owing to the want of means of conveyance, and the wasted condition of the country from the presence of so many troops; this circumstance produced some irregularities. Serrurier learning at Garassio the results of the battles of Montenotte and Millesimo, put his troops in motion, occupied the height of San Giovanni, and entered Ceva the same day that Augereau arrived on the heights of Montezemoto. On the 17th, after some slight affairs, Colli evacuated the intrenched camp of Ceva, and retired behind the Cursaglia. The same day the General-in-chief removed his head-quarters to Ceva. The enemy had left there all their artillery, which they had not had time to carry off, and had contented themselves with

leaving a garrison in the castle. The arrival of the army on the heights of Montezemoto was a sublime spectacle. The immense and fertile plains of Piedmont lay before them. The Po, the Tanaro, and a multitude of other rivers, meandered in the distance; in the horizon, a white girdle of snow and ice, of a stupendous height, surrounded these rich valleys—this promised land. Those gigantic barriers, which seemed the limits of another world, which nature had delighted in rendering thus formidable, and to which art had contributed all its resources, had fallen, as if by enchantment. "Hannibal forced the Alps," said the French General, surveying those mountains, "but we have turned them:" a happy expression, which conveyed, in two words, the idea and the results of the campaign. The army passed the Tanaro; for the first time it was now absolutely in the plains, and the cavalry could now be of some utility to us. General Steingel, who commanded it, passed the Cursaglia, at Lezegno, and scoured the plain. The head-quarters were fixed at the castle of Lezegno, on the right of the Cursaglia, near the point at which it falls into the Tanaro.

VII. *Action of Saint-Michel; Battle of Mondovi, 20th and 22d April.*—General Serrurier united his forces at Saint-Michel. On the 20th he passed the bridge of Saint-Michel, at the same time that Massena passed the Tanaro to attack the Pied-

montese. But Colli, aware of the danger of his position, abandoned the confluence of the two rivers, and marched in person to take up a position at Montoir. By a fortuitous circumstance, he arrived with his forces exactly before Saint-Michel, as General Serrurier was debouching from the bridge. He halted, opposed a superior force to him, and forced him to fall back. Serrurier would nevertheless have maintained himself in Saint-Michel, had not one of his light infantry regiments taken to pillage. The French General debouched on the 22d by the bridge of Torre, and directed his march on Mondovi. Colli had already raised some redoubts there, and established a position; his left at Devico, and his centre at La Bicoque. The same day, Serrurier carried the redoubt of La Bicoque, and decided the battle, which took the name of Mondovi. This town and all its magazines fell into the hands of the conqueror. General Steingel, who had advanced too far into the plain, with a thousand horse, was attacked by a body of Piedmontese of twice that number. He made all the dispositions that could be expected from a consummate general, and was effecting his retreat towards the main body when he was mortally wounded by a pike in a charge. General Murat, at the head of the cavalry, repulsed the Piedmontese, and pursued them during several hours. General Steingel, a native of Alsace, was an excellent officer of hussars.

He had served under Dumourier in the campaigns of the North; and was expert, intelligent, and active: he combined the qualities of youth with those of mature age, and was a true general of advanced posts. Two or three days before his death, he was the first man that entered Lezegno. The French General arrived there a few hours afterwards, and found that every thing had been provided and attended to. The defiles and fords had all been reconnoitred; guides had been secured; the curate and postmaster had been examined; communications established with several of the inhabitants; spies despatched in various directions; the letters at the post-office seized, and those which could furnish any military information, translated and analyzed; all proper measures taken for forming magazines of provisions for the troops. Unfortunately Steingel was near-sighted, a material defect in his profession, and which contributed to his death. After the battle of Mondovi, the General-in-chief marched on Cherasco; Serrurier advanced on Fossano; and Augereau on Alba.

VIII. *Taking of Cherasco, April 25th.*—These three columns, on the 25th of April, entered at the same time Cherasco, Fossano, and Alba.—Colli's head-quarters were at Fossano on the very day that Serrurier dislodged him thence.—Cherasco, at the junction of the Tanaro and

Stura, was a strong place, but ill defended and unprovided, because it was not a frontier fortress. The French General considered the possession of this place of great importance. He found some artillery in it, and commenced vigorous efforts for putting it in a state of defence. The van-guard passed the Stura, and advanced beyond the little town of Bra. In the mean time the junction of Serrurier had enabled us to communicate with Nice by Ponte-Dinava; we received thence reinforcements of artillery, and all that could be got ready. We had taken, in the different engagements, many horses and much artillery: in the plain of Mondovi we levied horses on all sides. A few days after its entrance into Cherasco, the army had sixty guns with their stores; the cavalry was remounted. The soldiers who had no distributions during the first eight or ten days of this campaign, began to receive them regularly. Pillage and disorder, the constant attendants of rapid movements, now ceased; discipline was restored, and the appearance of the army improved daily amidst the abundance and resources presented by this fine country. Its losses were repaired. The rapidity of the movements, the impetuosity of the troops, and, above all, the art of opposing them to the enemy, at least upon an equality, and often with advantage, in point of numbers, with the constant tide of success, had

preserved the men greatly; besides, soldiers arrived by all the debouches, from all the depôts and all the hospitals, at the report of the victorious career and abundant supply of the army. Wines of every kind were found in Piedmont: those of Montferrat resembled the wines in France. Previously to this period the misery of the French had exceeded all description. The officers had for several years received only eight francs per month, and the staff was wholly on foot. Marshal Berthier preserved amongst his papers an order of the day, issued at Albenga, granting to each general a gratification of three louis.

IX. *Armistice of Cherasco, April* 28.—The army was now only ten leagues from Turin.

The Court of Sardinia no longer knew what resolution to adopt; its army was discouraged, and partly destroyed. The Austrian army, reduced to less than half its original numbers, seemed to think of nothing but covering Milan. The minds of the people of Piedmont were much agitated, and the Court was far from possessing the confidence of the public. It placed itself at the discretion of the French General, and solicited an armistice; to which the latter acceded. Many people would have preferred that the army should have marched and taken Turin. But Turin is a fortified city; if it had been determined to close

the gates against us, they could not have been forced without such a train of artillery as we did not possess. The King had still a great number of fortresses, and notwithstanding the victories which had just been gained, the least check, the slightest caprice of fortune, might overturn every thing. The two hostile armies, notwithstanding their numerous reverses, were still equal to the French army; they had a considerable artillery, and a cavalry which had not suffered. In the French army, in spite of all its success, a degree of astonishment prevailed; the greatness of the enterprise struck every one; the possibility of success, with such slender means, was a subject of doubt. The least ambiguous occurrence would have been seized on by many persons disposed to exaggeration. Some officers, and even generals, conceived that we ought not to dare to think of conquering Italy with so little artillery, scarcely any cavalry, and so feeble an army, which disease and the distance from home would weaken every day. Some traces of these sentiments of the army may be found in the following proclamation of the General-in-chief, which he addressed to his soldiers at Cherasco.

"Soldiers! You have, in fifteen days, gained six victories, taken twenty-one stand of colours, fifty-five pieces of cannon, and several fortresses; and conquered the richest part of Piedmont. You

have made 15,000 prisoners; and killed and wounded more than 10,000 men.

"Hitherto you had fought for barren rocks, ennobled by your courage, but useless to the nation. Your services now equal those of the conquering army of Holland and the Rhine. You were in want of every thing, but you have provided every thing. You have gained battles without cannon, passed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, bivouacked without brandy, and often without bread. None but republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty, could have borne what you have endured. For this you have the thanks of your country. It gratefully acknowledges itself partly indebted to you for its prosperity; and, if, when you took Toulon, you gave an omen of the brilliant campaign of 1793, your present victories forebode one still more glorious.

"The two armies which lately attacked you with confidence, now fly before you in consternation. Those perverse persons who laughed at your wants, and rejoiced in their hearts at the anticipated triumphs of our enemies, are trembling in confusion. But, soldiers! it must not be concealed, you have done nothing, since there remains aught to do. Neither Turin nor Milan are in your power. The ashes of the

conquerors of Tarquin are still trodden under foot by the murderers of Basseville. You were in want of every thing at the opening of the campaign; you are now abundantly provided. The magazines taken from the enemy are numerous, the besieging and field artillery have arrived. Soldiers! the country is entitled to expect much from you. Will you fulfil its expectations? The greatest difficulties are, no doubt, surmounted; but you have still battles to fight, towns to take, rivers to cross: *are there any amongst us whose courage is enervated? Are there any who would prefer returning to the summits of the Apennines and Alps, to endure patiently the insults of yon slavish soldiery?* No, there are none such amongst the victors of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mondovi. All are burning to extend the glory of the French people. All wish to humble those proud kings who dare to think of enchaining us. All are ambitious to dictate a glorious peace, calculated to indemnify our country for the immense sacrifices she has made. Friends! I promise you this conquest; but there is one condition you must swear to fulfil; this is, to respect the people whom you liberate: to repress the horrible acts of pillage to which the wretches excited by your enemies, abandon themselves; without this you would not be the deliverers of nations,

but scourges to them. You would not be the glory of the French people, they would disown you. Your victories, your courage, your success, the blood of our brethren slain in battle, all would be thrown away—even honour and glory. As to me and the other generals in whom you confide, we should blush to command an undisciplined, unrestrained army, acknowledging no law but force. But invested with the national authority, strong in justice and the law, I shall know how to force that handful of dishonourable, cowardly, heartless men to respect the laws of humanity and honour, which they trample under foot. I will not suffer robbers to sully your laurels. I will cause the regulation I have published in orders to be vigorously carried into effect. Pillagers shall be shot without mercy; several have already suffered. I have had occasion to remark the readiness with which the real good soldiers have come forward to enforce the execution of the orders.

"People of Italy! the French army advances to break your chains: the people of France are the friends of all nations; meet her in confidence. Your property, your religion, and your customs shall be respected. We shall make war like generous enemies, and aim only at the tyrants who enslave you."

The conferences for the suspension of hostilities took place at head-quarters, at the house of Sul-

country most adverse to the royal authority, and that which contained the greatest proportion of revolutionary germs; some troubles had already broken forth there, and others subsequently burst out. If, instead of negotiating, Napoleon had chosen to continue the war with the King of Sardinia, it is in that country that he would have found the greatest assistance, and the greatest disposition to insurrection. Thus, in fifteen days, the principal point of the plan of the campaign was secured; the greatest results were obtained; the Piedmontese fortresses of the Alps were in our power; the coalition was deprived of an ally who had an army of 50,000 men, and who was still more important on account of his situation. The national legislature had five times decreed that the army had deserved well of the country in the sittings of the 21st, 24th, 25th, and 26th of April.

According to the conditions of the armistice of Cherasco, the King of Sardinia sent Count Revel to Paris to treat for the definitive peace. It was concluded and signed on the 15th of May. By this treaty the fortress of Alessandria remained permanently with the French army. Suza, Labrunette, and the Exilles were demolished. The Alps became open, and the King remained at the disposal of the Republic, having no fortified place but Turin and fort Bard.

Note of the Editor.—We mention here, once for all, that differences will necessarily be found between the official reports and these chapters. They arise from the precipitancy with which the reports were drawn up, from the wish of the General-in-chief to disguise his plans, the necessity of deceiving the enemy with respect to his real strength, &c. For instance, it is said in the report that Beaulieu attacked in person at Montenotte. It was thought so at the time. Farther on it is said, that the attack on Voltri was made by only 10,000 Austrians; but they had in the rear two columns of the same strength, which were to engage on the following day, Beaulieu having judged that on this point he should have to oppose the whole of the French army. It is also said, that Montenotte was attacked by only 15,000 men, because 10,000 men of this corps remained in the rear, and kept up the communication with the right at Ceva. It was against these troops that Massena, debouching at break of day by Cadibona, fired the first cannon.

If there is nothing said respecting the plans of the General-in-chief, or of his negotiations with Genoa, it is because the report published is only an extract from the official correspondence; and because, moreover, as we have already observed, it was part of the General-in-

chief's plans to keep the enemy ignorant of his projects, and his mode of warfare.

This may suffice to explain, hereafter, any differences that may be observed. We repeat that the present observation is to be understood as applying once for all.

FRAGMENTS OF CHAPTER III.

I. *Reasons for remaining on the line of the Ticino.* —The armistice being concluded, and the fortresses of Coni, Tortona, and Ceva, surrendered to us, it was enquired whether we ought now to pass the Ticino. It was well understood that the armistice, which had just placed these fortresses in our power, and separated the Piedmontese army from that of Austria, was useful. But it was asked, whether it would not now be most advantageous to profit by the means already acquired, in order to revolutionize Piedmont and Genoa completely, before advancing any farther. The Directory had the right of rejecting the proposed negotiations, and of declaring its will, by an ultimatum. "Would it not be impolitic," it was said, "to go still farther from France, and pass the Ticino without securing our rear? The Kings of Sardinia, who have been so useful whilst they fought for us, have been the chief contributors to our reverses, as soon as they have changed their policy. At this day, the disposition of that monarch leaves not the smallest room for illusion; the nobles and the priests govern this court, and are the irreconcileable enemies of the Republic. If we were to experience a defeat

in advancing, what should we not have to dread from their hatred and vengeance? Even Genoa ought to be a source of great apprehension to us. The oligarchical system still reigns there; and however numerous our partizans in that quarter may be, they have no influence in political decisions. The citizens of Genoa may declaim, indeed; but that is the extent of their power. The oligarchists rule; they command the troops, and can dispose of 8 or 10,000 peasants, in the valleys of Fontana Bona, and other places, whom they call to their defence in critical emergencies. Finally, it was asked, where were we to stop? Should we pass the Ticino, the Adda, the Oglio, the Mencio, the Adige, the Brenta, the Piave, and the Tagliamento, in order to reach the Isonzo? Was it prudent to leave behind us such numerous and unfriendly populations? Was not the true way to go fast, that of going wisely; making points of support of every country we should pass, by changing the government, and confiding the affairs of the state to persons of the same opinions and interests as ourselves. If we entered the territories of Venice, should we not oblige that Republic, which could command 50,000 men, to take part with our enemies?"

II. *Reasons for taking the line of the Adige.*—To the foregoing remarks, it was answered: The French army ought to follow up its victory. We ought only to stop on the best line of defence,

against the armies which will speedily march against us; that line is the Adige. It covers the valleys of the Po; it intercepts middle and lower Italy; it covers the blockade and siege of Mantua, and probably that place may be taken before the contest can re-commence. By proceeding to the Adige, we gain the means of providing for all the expenses of the army, because the weight of that expense is divided amongst a more numerous population; that of Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations. It is feared that Venice may declare against us. The best way of preventing it, is to carry the war, in a few days, into the midst of her states; she is not prepared for such an event; she has not had time to levy troops, and form resolutions; the senate must be prevented from deliberating. Instead of which, if we remain on the Ticino, the Austrians may force Venice to make common cause with them, or she may herself be induced to do so by the spirit of party. The King of Sardinia is no longer formidable, his militia is disbanded, the English will cease their subsidies; internal affairs are in the worst possible condition in his dominions. Whatever step the Court may take, the number of the disaffected will increase: after fever comes debility. 12 or 15,000 is the utmost amount of the forces which this power still retains, and these are disseminated throughout a great number of towns; they are scarcely sufficient to maintain

internal tranquillity. Besides, the hatred of Austria towards the King of Sardinia will keep constantly increasing; she will complain that, on the loss of a single battle, she was abandoned by her confederate. She will reproach him with the example of his ancestors, who remained faithful allies even when France was mistress of Turin; whilst in this instance he has deserted the joint cause without even the loss of a fortress. The Court of Sardinia has therefore henceforth much to fear from the Austrians. There is nothing to be apprehended from the oligarchists of Genoa; our best security against them is the immense profit they make by our neutrality. In propagating the principles of liberty in Piedmont and Genoa, in kindling civil war there, we should be raising the people against the nobles and priests: we should become responsible for the excesses which always attend such a contest. On the contrary, we should, when arrived on the Adige, be masters of all the States of the House of Austria in Italy, and of those of the Pope on this side of the Apennines; we should be in a situation to proclaim the principles of liberty, as well as to excite Italian patriotism against foreign domination, and the irritation of the people of Bologna and Ferrara against the Papal government. There would be no occasion to sow division amongst the various classes of citizens: nobles, citizens, and peasants would

all be equally called upon to march unanimously for the restoration of the Italian nation. The word *Italia! Italia!* proclaimed from Milan to Bologna, would produce a magical effect. Should it be proclaimed on the Ticino, the Italians would say, "Why do you not advance?"

III. *Topography of Italy.*—The great northern plains of Italy, comprised between the Alps which divide them from France, Switzerland, and Germany, the Apennines which divide them from Genoa and Tuscany, and the Adriatic, compose the valley of the Po, the valleys which extend to the Adriatic north of the Po, and the valleys which extend to the Adriatic south of the Po. These valleys are not subdivided by any hills; so that communications might be opened between all the rivers if necessary. They constitute one of the most fertile, grandest, richest plains in the world, covered with opulent cities and a population of 8, or 10,000,000. This immense plain comprises Piedmont, Lombardy, Parma, Placentia, Modena, Bologna, Ferrara, Romania, and the Venetian countries.

IV. *Valley of the Po.*—The Po rises in Mount Viso, and receives, successively, on its left, at Turin, the Doire, which descends from Mount Genevre; a little lower at Chivasso, the Dorea-Baltea, which comes from the Great Saint-Bernard; between Casal and Valenza, the Sesia; at Pavia, the Ticino, which descends from Lake

Maggiore, and the heights of the Simplon; near Borgo-Forte, the Oglio, from the Lake Iseo; near Governolo, the Mençio, from the Lake of Garda. The Po receives on its right bank all the streams which rise in the Apennines; the Tanaro below Valenza and Alessandria; the Scrivia, below Tortona and Castel-Nuovo; the Trebbia, above Placentia; the Taro above Casal Maggiore; the Crostollo, near Guastalla; the Secchia, near Saint-Benedetto; the Panaro and the Reno in the vicinity of Ferrara; and finally falls into the Adriatic thirty miles beyond Ferrara, by several mouths. This river may almost be considered as a kind of sea, on account of the great number of streams it receives in all directions. It is raised above the soil, and embanked by dykes, so that the finest countries of Italy are, like Holland, gained by art from the dominion of the waters. There is little or no cause for solicitude respecting the course of the tributary rivers of the left bank; nature there takes its course, without causing any inconvenience: thus the Dorea-Baltea, the Ticino, and the Adda, enter the Po, without occasioning any damage. It is otherwise with the tributary streams of the right bank. Below the Tanaro all the rivers are subject to great disorders, and give rise to difficult questions in hydraulics. It is necessary to raise the dykes every year, because the countries through which they pass, particularly Parma, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara,

suffer heavy inundations. It is owing to this perpetual recurrence of natural difficulties, that the Italians have become so skilful in hydraulic science. The engineers of that country have carried this branch of our knowledge farther than it has been pursued in any other.

The tributary streams on the opposite side of the Po also differ in this respect; that those of the left bank are almost always navigable, and scarcely ever fordable; whilst those on the right bank are never navigable, and are almost always fordable. The former are rivers; the latter are only torrents.

N. B. Here finishes this part of the chapter.—I am the more inclined to regret my not having the whole of it, because the remaining part contains a methodical enumeration of all the means of defence which Italy possesses against Austria. This piece the Emperor himself did not hesitate to consider very fine, and entitled to become of classical authority to military men; as long, said he, as the forms and physical details of the Peninsula remain unaltered. It will, however, infallibly be found in the complete work of the Campaigns of Italy.

The Emperor speaks in praise of Saint-Helena.—Scanty resources of the island.

February 1.—The happiest and wisest philosophy is that which sometimes enables us to view the least unfavourable side of the most disagreeable things. The Emperor, who was, doubtless, at the moment, under the influence of this happy feeling, observed as we were walking with him in the garden, that, after all, as a place of exile, perhaps Saint-Helena was the best that could be. In high latitudes we should have suffered greatly from cold, and, in any other island of the tropic, we should have dragged out a miserable existence under the scorching rays of the sun. "This rock," continued he, "is wild and barren, "no doubt; the climate is monotonous and un- "wholesome; but the temperature, it must be "confessed, is mild and agreeable."

He afterwards asked me, in the course of conversation, which would have been preferable, England, or America, in case we had been free to follow our own inclinations? I replied, that had the Emperor wished to spend his days in philosophic retirement, far from the tumult of the world, he should have chosen America; but if he felt any interest, or entertained any afterthought with regard to public affairs, he should have preferred England. And, not willing to be behindhand in giving an additional touch to the flattering picture which the Emperor had drawn of our miserable rock, I even ventured

to say, that there might, perhaps, be circumstances under which Saint-Helena would not be found the worst possible asylum. We might here be under shelter, while the tempest was howling in other parts of the world; and we were placed beyond the reach of conflicting passions, circumstances every way favourable to the chance of a happier future. These observations arose out of my wish to represent things on their fairest side; I extended the horizon to the utmost stretch of my imagination.

Meanwhile, in order to afford a correct idea of our place of exile, and the scantiness of its resources, it is only necessary to observe, that we were this day informed it would be necessary to economise various articles of our daily consumption, and, perhaps, even to make a temporary sacrifice of some. We were told the store of coffee was rapidly diminishing, and that it would soon be entirely exhausted. For a considerable time we have denied ourselves the use of white sugar; there was but very little, and that very bad, which was reserved exclusively for the Emperor's use; and there is now every prospect of this little supply being exhausted before more can be obtained. It is the same with various other necessaries. Our island is like a ship at sea; our stores are speedily exhausted, if the voyage be prolonged, or if we have more mouths to feed than we have the means of supplying. Our arrival has produced a scarcity at Saint-Helena, par-

ticularly as trading ships are not now suffered to approach the island; we might be tempted to believe that they avoid it as a fatal rock, were we not aware that the English cruiser carefully keeps them at bay. But of all the privations with which we are threatened, that which most surprises us, and which is most of all vexatious, is the want of writing paper. We are informed that during our three months residence here we have consumed all the paper in the island; which proves either that Saint-Helena is, in general, very scantily supplied with that article, or that we have used a most unreasonable quantity. The inmates of Longwood must have consumed six or eight times as much as all the rest of the colony together.

In addition to this, our physical and moral privations must be taken into account; it must be recollected, that we were not in the full enjoyment of even the few resources which the island affords, and of which arbitrary feeling and caprice in part deprive us; for we were not permitted to regale our eyes with the sight of the grass and foliage, in places at a certain distance from Longwood. The Admiral had promised that the Emperor should be free to ride over the whole of the island, and that he would make arrangements with respect to his guard, so as to free him from all annoyance. The Admiral, however, broke his engagement; and by his orders an officer in-

sisted on accompanying the Emperor in his rides. The Emperor consequently renounced the idea of taking any excursion whatever; and we now remained cut off from all communication with the inhabitants.

With respect to physical comforts, our situation was most miserable, either through unavoidable circumstances or mismanagement. Scarcely any of the provisions were eatable. The wine was execrable; the oil was unfit for use; the coffee and sugar were almost at an end: and, as I have already observed, we had almost bred a famine in the island. Of course, we could endure all these privations, and might have contrived to exist under many more. But, when it is asserted that we are treated in a style of magnificence, when it is declared that we are very well off, we are induced to unfold our real situation, and to shew that we are destitute of every comfort. And lest our silence hereafter should lead to the inference that we are happy, let it be understood that our moral strength may enable us to endure miseries which language would be inadequate to express.

My son's indisposition.—The Emperor gives me a horse.

2d.—My son having been, for some time past, troubled with a pain in his chest, accompanied by violent palpitation of the heart, I called in three surgeons, and they ordered him to be bled.—

Bleeding is at present the favourite remedy with the English: it is their universal panacea. They employ it in all disorders, and sometimes where there is no disorder at all. They laughed at the astonishment we evinced at a treatment which was altogether new to us.

About the middle of the day we took a ride in the calash. On our return home, the Emperor wished to see a horse that had just been purchased for him: he thought him very handsome and well made. He tried him; declared that he liked him uncommonly; and then, with the most captivating good-nature, gave him as a present to me. However, I could not ride him: he proved vicious, and he was transferred to General Gourgaud, who is a much better horseman than I am.

The Emperor's progress in learning English.

3d—6th. The 3d was a terrible day: the rain fell incessantly, and we found it impossible to stir out. The weather has continued wet for several days in succession. I never imagined we could have contrived to stay for such a length of time within doors. The damp is penetrating on every side of our dwelling, and the rain is making its way through the roof. The bad weather without doors had an unpleasant effect upon us within.—I became very dull; and the Emperor was by no means well. "What is the matter with you?" said he to me one morning; "you seem quite al-

"tered for these few days past. Is your mind "ailing? Are you conjuring up *Dragons*, like "Madame de Sevigne?"—"Sire," I replied, "my illness is altogether bodily. The state of "my eyes plagues me exceedingly. As for my "mind, I know how to keep that under the bridle. "I can even use the bit, if needful; and your "Majesty has given me a pair of spurs which "will be my last and victorious resource."

The Emperor devoted three, four, and even five hours at a time to the study of English. His progress was really very remarkable; he felt this, and was delighted at it. He frequently says, that he is indebted to me for this conquest, and that he considers it a very important one. For my part, however, I can claim no other merit than the method which I adopted with regard to the other occupations of the Emperor. I first suggested the idea, and then continually reverted to it: and when it was once fairly set on foot, I followed up its execution with a promptitude and daily regularity which stimulated the Emperor to proceed. If any of us happened not to be ready at the moment he wanted us, if it was found necessary to postpone any business till the following day, he was immediately seized with disgust, and his labours were suspended until some circumstance occurred to induce him to renew them. "I stand in need of excitement," said he in one of these transient interruptions,

"nothing but the pleasure of advancement "can bear me through: for, between you and "me, it must needs be confessed that there is "nothing very amusing in all this, Indeed there "is very little of diversion in the whole routine "of our present existence."

The Emperor still continued to play two or three games at chess before dinner; in the afternoons we again resumed *reversis*, which had long been abandoned. Formerly we had not been very regular in paying our debts of honour; and we henceforth agreed to pay the sums that we owed to each other, into a general bank. We began to consider how the money thus accumulated should be disposed of. The Emperor asked our opinions, and some one proposed that the money should be applied to the liberation of the prettiest female slaves in the island. This idea was universally approved; we sat down to play with great spirit, and the first evening produced two Napoleons and a half.

The Emperor learns the death of Murat.

7th—8th. The frigate Theban arrived from the Cape, and brought us some newspapers. I translated them to the Emperor while we walked in the garden. One of these papers brought intelligence of a great catastrophe. I read that Murat, having landed in Calabria, with a few troops, had been siezed and shot. At this

unexpected news, the Emperor interrupted me by exclaiming, "The Calabrians were more hu-"mane, more generous than those who sent me "here." This was all he said; and after a few moments silence, I continued my reading.

Murat, without real judgment, without solid views, without a character proportioned to the circumstances in which he was placed, had perished in an attempt evidently desperate. It is not impossible that the Emperor's return from Elba may have turned his brain, and inspired him with the hope of renewing the prodigy in his own person. Such was the miserable end of him who had been one of the most active causes of our reverses! In 1814 his courage and intrepidity might have saved us from the abyss in which his treachery involved us. He neutralized the Vice-King on the Po, and fought against him; whereas, by uniting together, they might have forced the passes of the Tyrol, made a descent into Germany, and arrived on Bâle and the banks of the Rhine, to destroy the rear of the allies and cut off their retreat from France.

The Emperor, while he was at Elba, avoided all communication with the King of Naples; but on departing for France, he wrote to inform him, that being about to resume possession of his throne, he felt pleasure in declaring to him that all their past differences were at an end. He pardoned his late conduct, tendered him his

friendship, sent some one to sign the guarantee of his states, and recommended him to maintain a good understanding with the Austrians, and to content himself with merely keeping them in check, in case they should attempt to march upon France. Murat, at this moment, inspired with the sentiments of his early youth, would receive neither guarantee nor signature. He declared that the Emperor's promise and friendship were sufficient for him, and that he would prove he had been more unfortunate than guilty. His devotedness and ardour, he added, would obtain for him oblivion of the past.

"Murat," said the Emperor, "was doomed to "be our bane. He ruined us by forsaking us, "and he ruined us by too warmly espousing our "cause. He observed no sort of discretion. He "himself attacked the Austrians, without any "reasonable plan, and without adequate forces; "and he was subdued without striking a blow."

The Austrians, when rid of Murat, cited his conduct either as a reason or as a pretence for attributing ambitious views to Napoleon when he again appeared on the scene. They constantly referred to Murat, whenever the Emperor made protestations of his moderation.

Before these unlucky hostilities of the King of Naples, the Emperor had already concluded with Austria. Other inferior states had signified to him that he might rely on their neutrality. Doubtless

the fall of the King of Naples gave another turn to affairs.

Endeavours have been made to represent Napoleon as a man of furious and implacable temper; but the truth is, that he was a stranger to revenge, and he never cherished any vindictive feeling, whatever wrong he might have suffered. His anger was usually vented in violent transports, and was soon at an end. Those who knew him must be convinced of this fact. Murat had scandalously betrayed him; as I have already observed, he had twice ruined his prospects, and yet Murat came to seek an asylum at Toulon. "I should have taken him with me to Waterloo," said Napoleon; "but such was the patriotic and "moral feeling of the French army, that it was "doubtful whether the troops could surmount the "disgust and horror which they felt for the man "who had betrayed and lost France. I did not "consider myself sufficiently powerful to protect "him. Yet he might have enabled us to gain the "victory. How useful would he have been at "certain periods of the battle? He would have "broken three or four English squares. Murat was "admirable in such a service as this;—he was "precisely the man for it. At the head of a body "of cavalry, no man was ever more resolute, "more courageous, or more brilliant.

"As to drawing a parallel," said the Emperor, "between the circumstances of Napoleon

" and Murat—between the landing of the for-
" mer in France, and the entrance of the latter
" in the Neapolitan territory; no such paral-
" lel exists. Murat had no good argument to
" support his cause, except success; his enter-
" prise was purely chimerical, both as to the time
" and the manner of its commencement. Napo-
" leon was the chosen ruler of a people; he was
" their legitimate sovereign, according to modern
" doctrines. But Murat was not a Neapolitan;
" the Neapolitans had not chosen Murat; how,
" therefore, could it be expected that he would
" excite any lively interest in his favour? Thus
" his proclamation was totally false, and void of
" facts. Ferdinand of Naples could view him in
" no other light than as a supporter of insurrec-
" tion; he did so, and he treated him accordingly.

" How different was it with me!" continued the Emperor: " before my arrival, one universal sen-
" timent pervaded France, and my proclamation
" was imbued with that sentiment:—every one
" found that it echoed the feelings of his own
" heart. France was discontented; I was her re-
" source. The evil and its remedy were imme-
" diately in unison. This is the whole secret of
" that electric movement which is unexampled in
" history. It had its source solely in the nature
" of things. There was no conspiracy, and the
" impulse was general; not a word was spoken,
" and a general understanding prevailed through-

" out the country. Whole towns threw themselves " at the feet of their deliverer. The first battalion which my presence gained over to me, immediately placed the whole army in my power. " I found myself borne on to Paris. The existing government and its agency disappeared " without efforts, like clouds before the sun. And " yet," concluded the Emperor, " had I been subdued, had I fallen into the hands of my enemies, I was not a mere insurrectionary chief; " I was a Sovereign acknowledged by all Europe. " I had my title, my standard, my troops; and I " was advancing to wage war upon my enemy."

Porlier.—Ferdinand.—Tables of my Atlas.

9th.—In the papers which I was translating to the Emperor, I found the history of the Spanish General Porlier, one of the most distinguished chiefs of the famous Guerillas. He had made an attempt to excite the Spaniards to rise against the tyranny of Ferdinand; but he failed, was arrested, and hanged.

The Emperor said, " I am not in the least sur- " prised that such an attempt should have been " made in Spain. Those very Spaniards who proved " themselves my most inveterate enemies when I " invaded their country, and who acquired the " highest glory by the resistance they opposed to " me, immediately appealed to me on my return

" from Elba. They had, they said, fought against
" me as their tyrant; but they now came to implore
" my aid as their deliverer. They required only
" a small sum to emancipate themselves, and to
" produce in the Peninsula a revolution similar to
" mine. Had I conquered at Waterloo, it was
" my intention immediately to have assisted the
" Spaniards. This circumstance sufficiently ex-
" plains to me the attempt that has lately been
" made. There is little doubt but it will be re-
" newed again. Ferdinand, in his madness, may
" grasp his sceptre as firmly as he will; but one
" day or other it will slip through his fingers like
" an eel."

We had now finished our perusal of the newspapers. The Emperor began to turn over the leaves of my Atlas, and I was happy to see him examine the genealogical tables. I had long wished to call his attention to them, but he had always passed them over. I analyzed to him, on the English table, the wars of the Houses of York and Lancaster; which are unintelligible to many readers, without a help of this kind. He was struck with their utility, and examined several of them. With regard to the Russian table, he observed that it is extremely difficult, without such an assistant, to trace the irregular order of succession among the late sovereigns of Russia. On looking over the French table, he was very much surprised at the singular fact, that in spite of seven or eight

enforcements of the salic law, Louis XVI. should have reigned as though that law had never existed.

The Emperor dwelt much on the accurate and complete agreement of these tables one with another; he frequently adverted to the number of rallying points marked in so small a space; the numerical order of the Sovereign, his degree of succession, the complete list of his ancestry, &c. He repeated what he had before hinted to me, that had he known the value of these tables, he should have engaged me to arrange them in a more convenient and less expensive form, in order to adapt them to the use of the French Lyceums. He added, that he should have liked to see all histories reprinted with similar documents to assist and explain them. I told him that I had entertained the same idea, that it had already been carried into execution, with Hume's History of England, and that, had it not been for the late events in France, it would also have been applied to Pfeffeld's History of Germany, Hainaut's France, and a history of the three Crowns of the North.

About four o'clock I presented to the Emperor the Captain of the Theban, who was to sail next day for Europe, and Colonel Macoy, of the regiment of Ceylon. This brave soldier looked like a mutilated monument; he had not only lost one of his legs, but his face was disfigured by a sabre-cut across

his forehead, and several other scars. He had fallen on the field of battle in Calabria, and had been made prisoner by General Panthonaux. The Emperor received him with particular attention; it was easy to see that they felt a mutual sympathy for each other. Colonel Macoy had held the rank of Major in the Corsican regiment, commanded by the new Governor, whom we expected. The Colonel remarked to some person, that he thought the Emperor was very ill-treated here; but that he had too high an idea of General Lowe's liberality of mind, not to believe that he would do every thing in his power to ameliorate our condition.

The Emperor afterwards rode out on horseback, when we again went up the valley, and did not return until about seven o'clock. The Emperor then resumed his walk in the garden; the temperature was very mild, and the moon shone delightfully. The fine weather had completely returned.

On Egypt.—Plan for altering the course of the Nile.

10.—The Emperor now begins to make rapid advancement in English; and, with the assistance of his Dictionary, might manage tolerably without me. He was delighted with the decided progress he had made. His lesson for to-day was the task of reading in the Encyclopedia

Britannica the article on the Nile, of which he now and then made memoranda, to assist him in his dictations to the Grand Marshal. In this article the Emperor found a fact related which I had formerly mentioned to him, but which he had hitherto considered as an absurd story. The great Albuquerque proposed to the King of Portugal to turn the course of the Nile previous to its entrance into the valley of Egypt, so as to make it fall into the Red Sea, which would have rendered Egypt an impassable desert, and made the Cape of Good Hope the only channel for the great trade of India. Bruce thinks the execution of this gigantic idea not entirely impossible; the Emperor was forcibly struck with it.

About five o'clock the Emperor took an airing in the calash; the drive was extremely pleasant, and the circumstance of some trees having been cut down has, by forming several circuitous roads, made our original space three times as large as before. On our return, we took advantage of the fineness of the evening to walk for a long time in the garden: the conversation was most interesting. It turned on various important subjects, viz. on the variety of religions; on the spirit that had given them birth; the ridiculous absurdities with which they were mingled; the excesses by which they had been degraded; the objections that had been urged against them,

&c. The Emperor treated all these subjects with his usual superiority.

Uniformity.—Ennui.—The Emperor's Solitude.—Caricatures.

11.—The Emperor read this morning the article entitled Egypt, in the Encyclopedia, and made some notes from it which cannot fail to be of service to him for his Campaign of Egypt. This circumstance gave him a great deal of pleasure; and he repeated several times in the course of the day how much he was delighted with the progress he had made. He is now sufficiently advanced to read without assistance.

About four o'clock I accompanied the Emperor into the garden: we walked by ourselves for some time, but were afterwards joined by the rest of the company. The weather was very mild. The Emperor remarked on the calmness of our solitude. It was Sunday, and no workmen were to be seen. He added, that we could not, at least, be accused of dissipation, or of the ardent pursuit of pleasure; in fact, it is difficult to imagine a state of greater uniformity, or a more complete absence of every sort of amusement.

The Emperor endures this mode of life admirably. He surpasses us all in equality and serenity of temper. He says himself, that it would be difficult to be more philosophic and tranquil

than he is.—He retires to bed at ten o'clock, and does not rise, that is to say, does not go out, before five or six o'clock, so that he was never more than four hours out of doors; like a prisoner who is led from his cell once a day to breathe the fresh air. But then how intense is the occupation of each day! how various are the thoughts which occupy his mind! With regard to mental exertion, the Emperor said he felt as capable of bearing it as he had ever been; that he did not feel the least ill effect from it in any respect. He was astonished himself at the slight impression that had been made on him by all the late events of which he had been the hero. He said, it reminded him of lead which had been passed over marble. Weight may compress a spring, but cannot break it; and it rises again with its own elasticity. He did not think any one in the world knew better than himself how to yield to necessity; this, he said, was the real triumph of reason and strength of mind.

The hour for our ride had now arrived. As the Emperor was going to meet the calash, he happened to see little Hortense, Madame Bertrand's daughter, with whom he was very much pleased. He called her to him, caressed her two or three times, and took her out in the carriage along with little Tristan de Montholon. During the drive, the Grand Marshal, who had been looking over the papers, gave an

account of some bons-mots and caricatures he had found among them. One possessed a good deal of point. The picture consisted of two actions: one represented Napoleon giving to the Princess of Hasfield, with directions to commit to the flames, the letter whose disappearance was to preserve her husband; underneath was written, *tyrannical act of an Usurper*. The pendant was quite another character. We described to the Emperor a great number of the caricatures with which we had been inundated after the restoration. Some of them afforded him great amusement. One in particular made him smile: it had reference to a change of dynasty.

The Emperor observed, that if caricatures sometimes avenge misfortune, they form a continual annoyance to power. "I think I have had my "share of them," said he. He then desired us to describe some of those which had been made upon him, and very much approved of one as being in good taste. It was a sketch representing George III. on the coast of England, throwing an enormous beet-root, in a great passion, at the head of Napoleon, who was on the opposite shore, and saying, "*Go and make yourself some sugar.*"

The Emperor's long walk.

12th.—Fine weather had now fairly set in. About four o'clock the Emperor walked in the garden. The temperature was delightful, and we all

acknowledged that it was like one of our finest evenings in Europe. We had enjoyed nothing equal to it since we had been on the island. The Emperor ordered the calash; and by way of a change, instead of driving along by the gum-trees, to get into the road leading to the Grand Marshal's house, he wished to take the road which encircles the upper hollow of our favourite valley, and to gain, if possible, the spot on which is situated the residence of Miss Mason, and which is on the opposite side, facing Longwood. The Emperor invited Madame Bertrand to take a drive in the calash, in which Madame de Montholon and myself were already seated: the rest of our party followed on horseback, so that we were now all assembled together. At a few paces from Madame Bertrand's, at the military post, which is established near the house, the ground was very rough and uneven; the horses refused to advance, and we were obliged to alight from the calash. The barrier was scarcely wide enough to allow the carriage to pass; but the English soldiers came to our assistance, and in a moment pushed it through by main force. However, when we had reached the hollow of the valley, we found walking so agreeable, that the Emperor wished to continue it; and after a short time, he ordered the carriage to be driven along the road as far as the gate of Miss Mason's house, while we should proceed with our walk in the valley. The

evening was really most delightful; the shades of night were beginning to overspread the sky, but the moon shone brilliantly. Our walk reminded us of those strolls which we had been accustomed to enjoy on fine summer evenings, in the neighbourhood of our country residences, in Europe.

The calash had now returned; but the Emperor declined getting into it. He directed that it should wait at Madame Bertrand's door; but when the Emperor got there, he wished to walk on to Longwood, where he arrived very much fatigued. He had walked nearly six miles, which is a great deal for him, who was never a good walker at any period of his life.

Bad temperature of Saint-Helena.—Observation on the spirit of this Journal.

13—16. I have already observed that there is no regular course of seasons at Saint-Helena, but merely irregular successions of good and bad weather. It would be difficult to find four words to express any deviation from our accustomed routine, during these four days. And here I take the opportunity of observing, once for all, that if, in the course of my journal, the events of several days are occasionally found combined in one article, it is because I have cancelled a portion of the notes relating to each day separately. I have been induced to do this

from various motives. Sometimes my notes appeared to me too puerile; sometimes, on the other hand, they seemed to be too serious, and required to be accounted for by reference to a more distant period; or occasionally they consisted of personalities, and I make it a rule studiously to avoid every thing of that kind. If, in spite of all my care, any offensive personal allusions have escaped me, it can only be when I have been led to them by the essential object of my journal; namely, to describe the character of the Emperor. Even then, I may reflect for my own satisfaction, that these personalities relate only to public characters, and refer to facts already circulated in the world.

I am, however, perfectly well aware that the task I have undertaken, may subject me to many inconveniences; but I consider it as a sacred duty, and shall endeavour to fulfil it to the best of my abilities, happen what will.

The Emperor's views of French politics.

17th.—At six o'clock in the morning the Emperor mounted his horse, and we rode round the park, commencing in the neighbourhood of our valley, and proceeding as far as the road leading from the camp to the Grand Marshal's residence. A party of about 150 or 200 sailors belonging to the Northumberland, who were daily employed in removing planks of wood or stones for the service of Longwood or the camp, ranged themselves in

a line fronting Marshal Bertrand's house, while the Emperor passed by. The Emperor spoke to the officers, and smiled complacently on his old ship-mates; he appeared delighted at seeing them.

I have already mentioned that we occasionally received parcels of newspapers from Europe, the contents of which occupied our attention, and occasioned the Emperor to draw some lively and animated pictures. Conversing to-day on the subject of the intelligence we had recently received, the Emperor observed that the condition of France was by no means improved. "The "Bourbons," he repeated, "have now no other re- "source than severity. Four months have already "elapsed, the Allied forces are about to be with- "drawn, and none but half measures have been "taken. The affair has been badly managed. "A government can exist only by its principle. "The principle of the French government evi- "dently is to return to old maxims; and it "should do this openly. In present circum- "stances, the Chambers, above all, will be fatal; "they will inspire the King with false confidence, "and will have no weight with the nation. The "King will soon be deprived of all means of "communication with them. They will no "longer follow the same religion, nor speak the "same language. No individual will henceforth "have a right to undeceive the people with

" regard to any absurdities that may be propa-
" gated; even if it should be wished to make
" them believe that all the springs of water are
" poisoned, and that trains of gunpowder are laid
" under ground." The Emperor concluded by observing, that there would be some juridical executions, and an extreme desire of re-action, which will be sufficiently strong to irritate, but not to subdue, &c.

As to Europe, the Emperor considered it to be as violently agitated as it had ever been. The powers of Europe had destroyed France, but she might one day revive through commotions arising among the people of different nations, whom the policy of the sovereigns was calculated to alienate; the glory of France might also be restored through a misunderstanding among the Allied powers themselves, which would probably ensue.

As to our own personal affairs, they could only be improved through the medium of England; and she could only be induced to favour us by political interests, a change in her ministers or her sovereign, or the sentiment of national glory excited by the torrent of public opinion. As for political interests, circumstances might bring them about; the change of individuals depends on accidents; finally, with respect to the sentiment of national glory, so easy to be understood, the present ministry had disavowed it, but another might not be insensible to it.

Picture of domestic happiness drawn by the Emperor.—Two young ladies of the Island.

18th.—The Emperor sent for me about ten o'clock; he had just returned home. Some one had informed me that he had been out shooting; but he said he had not. He rode out on horseback as early as six o'clock; but he gave orders that *His Excellency's* slumbers should not be disturbed. We set to work with the English lesson. Breakfast was served up; it was most detestable, and I could not refrain from making the observation. He complained of my eating so little, and added that it was certainly necessary to have a good appetite to make a repast on such fare. We continued our lesson until nearly one o'clock, when the excessive heat obliged us to desist, and take a little repose.

About five o'clock the Emperor went out to walk in the garden. He began to draw a sketch of the happiness of a private man in easy circumstances, peacefully enjoying life in his native province, in the house and surrounded by the lands which he had inherited from his fore-fathers. Certainly nothing could be more philosophic. We could not refrain from smiling at the tranquil domestic picture, and some of us got our ears pinched for our pains. "Felicity of this kind," continued the Emperor, "is now unknown in "France except by tradition. The Revolution

" has destroyed it. The old families have been " deprived of this happiness, and the new ones " have not yet been long enough established in " the enjoyment of it. The picture which I have " sketched has now no real existence."—He observed, that to be driven from one's native home, from the fields in which we had roamed in childhood, to possess no paternal abode, was in reality to be deprived of a country. Some one here remarked, that the man who had been robbed of the home which he had created for himself after the storm had blown over; who was driven from the house in which he had dwelt with his wife, and which had been the birthplace of his children, might truly say that he had lost a second country. What a world do we live in! and what vicissitudes has not the present age produced!

We seated ourselves in the calash, and took our accustomed airing. During dinner the conversation turned on two young ladies, residents of the island: the one tall, handsome, and very fascinating; the other not so pretty, but perfectly well bred, and pleasing in her deportment and manners. Opinions were divided respecting them. The Emperor, who knew I was an admirer of the one first described, declared himself in favour of her also. Some one remarked, that if he were to see the second, he would not be induced to change his mind. The Emperor then wished to know the gentleman's own opinion respecting the ladies,

and he replied, that he was an admirer of the second. This seemed rather contradictory, and the Emperor requested him to explain himself. "Why," said he, "if I wished to purchase a "slave, I should certainly fix on the first; but "if I thought I should derive any happiness "from becoming a slave myself, I should ad- "dress myself to the second."—"That is to say," resumed the Emperor, quickly, "that you have "no very high opinion of my taste?"—"Not so, "Sire, but I suspect your Majesty's views and "mine would be different." The Emperor smiled, and said nothing more on the subject.

19th.—The Emperor rode on horseback very early this morning; it was scarcely six o'clock when he went out. I was quite ready; for I had ordered some one to call me; and the Emperor was astonished to see me so active. We strolled about the park at random, and returned about nine o'clock: the sun was already beginning to be warm.

About four o'clock the Emperor wished to take his English lesson; but he was not very well. He said, every thing had gone wrong with him today; and that nothing had been done well. His walk in the garden did not restore him; he was not well at dinner-time. He did not play his usual number of games at chess; but retired after the first game.

The Emperor's works in the Island of Elba.—Predilection of the Algerines for the Emperor.

20th.—The weather has been extremely bad. The Emperor had been rather unwell the whole of the night, but felt himself much better in the morning. He did not leave his room before five o'clock. About six we took advantage of a gleam of fine weather to drive round the park in the calash. The horses which have been provided for us are vicious; they shy at the first object that comes in their way, and become restive. They stood still several times during our drive. The rain, indeed, had rendered the roads very heavy, and at one time it required all our efforts to obviate the necessity of returning on foot. The Grand Marshal and General Gourgaud were at one time obliged to alight and put their shoulders to the wheel. At length, after a great deal of trouble, we reached home. The conversation, during our drive, turned on the Island of Elba. The Emperor spoke of the roads he had made, and the houses he had built, which the best painters of Italy begged, as a favour, to be permitted to adorn with their works.

The Emperor observed, that his flag had become the first in the Mediterranean. It was held sacred, he said, by the Algerines, who usually made presents to the Elba Captains, telling them

that they were paying the debt of Moscow. The Grand Marshal told us, that some Algerine ships, having anchored off the Island of Elba, had caused great alarm among the inhabitants, who questioned the pirates with regard to their intentions, and ended by asking them plainly whether they came with any hostile views.—"Against the Great Napoleon!" said the Algerines: "Oh! never . . . . . we do not wage war "on God!"

Whenever the flag of the Island of Elba entered any of the ports of the Mediterranean, Leghorn excepted, it was received with loud acclamations: all the national feeling seemed to return. The crews of some French ships from Britanny and Flanders, which touched at the Island of Elba, testified the same sentiment.

"Every thing is judged by comparison in this "world," said the Emperor; "the Island of "Elba, which, a year ago, was thought so dis-"agreeable, is a paradise compared to Saint-"Helena. As for this Island, it may set all "future regret at defiance."

Piontkowski.—Caricature.

21st—22d. The Emperor continued to rise early and ride out on horseback, in the park and among the gum-trees. He rode only at a walking pace, but this light exercise was of advantage to him, as it enabled him to enjoy the fresh air. He

returned with a better appetite, and pursued the occupations of the day with greater spirit. He breakfasted in the garden, under some trees which had been twined together to afford him a shade. One morning, as he was sitting down to breakfast, he perceived at a distance the Polonese Piontkowski, and sent for him to breakfast with him. He always takes pleasure in conversing with him whenever he meets him.

Piontkowski, with whose origin we are not very well acquainted, came to the Island of Elba, and obtained permission to serve as a private in the Guards. On the Emperor's return from Elba, he had gained the rank of lieutenant. When we departed from Paris, he received permission to follow us; and we left him at Plymouth, among those who were separated from us by order of the English ministers. Piontkowski, having more fidelity, or more address, than his comrades, obtained leave to come to Saint-Helena. The Emperor had never known, and never spoken to him, till he came here.

Piontkowski was, indeed, equally unknown to us all. The English were surprised that we did not give him a warmer greeting on his arrival. Some individuals, who seized all opportunities of saying any thing to our disadvantage, wrote to England that we had received Piontkowski very badly. This story was totally false; but it furnished the English ministerial prints with a sub-

ject on which to exercise their usual courtesy and wit. It was asserted that the Emperor had beaten Piontkowski; and I heard of a caricature in which Napoleon was exhibited thrusting his nails into the Polish officer. It was, moreover, alleged that I had fallen upon him like a cannibal, about to devour him; and that it was only by a stick being thrust between my teeth, by the driver of the cattle, that I was prevented from biting a mouthful out of his shoulder. Such were the elegant descriptions that were given of us.

The Emperor's return from Elba.

24th.—After dinner, while we taking our coffee, the Emperor observed, that about this time last year, he quitted the Island of Elba. The Grand Marshal informed him that it was on the 26th of February, and on a Sunday. "Sire," said he, "you directed the mass to be performed at "an earlier hour than usual, that you might have "the more time for issuing the necessary orders."

They sailed in the afternoon, and next morning at ten o'clock, they were still within sight, to the great anxiety of those who were interested in their success.

The Emperor entered into conversation on this subject, and was, for upwards of an hour, engaged in describing the details of that event, which is single in history, both from the boldness

of the enterprise, and the miracle of its execution. I shall insert, at another part of my journal, the details which I collected on this subject.

Campaigns of Italy and Egypt.—The Emperor's opinion on the great French Poets.—Tragedies by late Writers.—Hector.—The Etats de Blois.—Talma.

25th—28th. Our days were for the most part very much alike; if they seemed long in detail, they were rapidly shortened in a retrospective view. They were without character or interest, and left only imperfect recollections behind. The English went on gradually improving. The Emperor confessed that he had felt a moment of disgust; his *furia Francese* had, he said, at one time, given way; but he added, that I had reanimated him by means of a plan which he considered more certain and infallible than any other—that of reading and analyzing one single page over and over again until it was thoroughly learnt. The grammatical rules were explained by the way. In this manner, there is not a moment lost for study and memory. The progress at first appears slow, the learner seems to advance but little in his studies; but by the time he has come to the fiftieth page, he is astonished to find that he knows the language. We had added a page of Telemachus to the rest of our lesson, and we found the benefit of it. By this time, however, the Emperor, though he had only had twenty or twenty-five complete lessons, could understand any book; and

would have been able to make himself understood in writing. He had not learnt every thing, it is true; but, as he said, nothing could be concealed from him for the future, and this was a great thing—this was a decided victory.

The Campaign of Egypt was completed with the assistance of Bertrand, as far as the want of materials would permit. The Emperor now commenced, with another of the gentlemen, a new and very important period; namely:—from his departure from Fontainebleau, up to his return to Paris, and his second abdication. He possessed no document relating to these rapid events; but it was that very rapidity, which induced me to entreat him to employ his memory in the establishment of circumstances, which the hurry of events or party spirit might enfeeble or distort.

The Emperor also employed himself very frequently with me, in revising the different chapters of the Campaign of Italy; this was generally done immediately before dinner. He had directed me to arrange each chapter in a regular and uniform manner; to mark out the proper divisions of the paragraphs, and to note down and collect the justificatory articles. This he called the digestive business of an editor. "And "your interest is concerned in it," said he to me one day, with an air of kindness which affected me; "henceforward it is your property: "the Campaign of Italy shall bear your name, and

" the Campaign of Egypt that of Bertrand. I in-
" tend that it shall add at once to your fortune and
" to your fame. There will be at least a hun-
" dred thousand francs in your pocket, and your
" name will last as long as the remembrance of
" my battles."

With regard to our evenings, the reversis had been relinquished a second time; we could not continue it long. After the second or third round, the cards were abandoned for conversation. We resumed our readings: our stock of novels was exhausted, and plays occupied our attention for the future, tragedies in particular. The Emperor is uncommonly fond of analyzing them, which he does in a singular mode of reasoning, and with a great deal of taste. He remembers an immense quantity of poetry, which he learned when he was eighteen years old, at which time, he says, he knew much more than he does at present. The Emperor is delighted with Racine, in whom he finds an abundance of beauties. He greatly admires Corneille, but thinks very little of Voltaire, who, he says, is full of bombast and trick; always incorrect; unacquainted either with men or things, with truth or the sublimity of passion.

At one of the evening levees at Saint-Cloud, the Emperor analyzed a piece which had just been brought out; it was *Hector*, by *Luce de Lancival:* this piece pleased him very much; it possessed warmth and energy of character. He called it a *head-quarter*

piece; and said that a soldier would be better prepared to meet the enemy after seeing or reading it. He added, that it would be well if there were a greater number of plays written in the same spirit.—Then adverting to those dramatic productions which he termed *waiting-maids' tragedies*, he said they would not bear more than one representation, after which they suffered a gradual diminution of interest. A good tragedy, on the contrary, gains upon us every day. The higher walk of tragedy, continued he, is the school of great men; it is the duty of sovereigns to encourage and disseminate a taste for it. Nor is it necessary, he said, to be a poet, to be enabled to judge of the merits of a tragedy; it is sufficient to be acquainted with men and things, to possess an elevated mind, and to be a statesman. Then, becoming gradually more animated, he added with enthusiasm,—"Tragedy fires the soul, elevates the heart, and "is calculated to generate heroes. Considered "under this point of view, perhaps, France owes "to Corneille a part of her great actions; and, "gentlemen, *had he lived in my time, I would have* "*made him a prince.*"

On a similar occasion, he analyzed and condemned the *Etats de Blois*, which had just been presented for the first time at the theatre of the Court; and perceiving, among the company present, the Arch-Treasurer Lebrun, who was distinguished for his literary acquirements, he asked

his opinion of it. Lebrun, who was undoubtedly in the author's interest, contented himself with remarking, that the subject was a bad one. "That," replied the Emperor, "was M. Renou-" ard's first fault; he chose it himself, it was "not forced upon him. Besides, there is no "subject, however bad, which great talent can-" not turn to some account, and Corneille would "still have been himself even in one like this. "As for M. Renouard, he has totally failed. "He has shewn no other talent but that of "versification; every thing else is bad, very "bad; his conception, his details, his result, are "altogether deficient. He violates the truth of "history; his characters are false, and their po-" litical tendency is dangerous, and perhaps "prejudicial. This is an additional proof of "what, however, is very well known, that there "is a wide difference between the reading and "the representation of a play. I thought at first "that this piece might have been allowed to pass; "it was not until this evening that I perceived "its improprieties. Of these, the praises lavished "on the Bourbons are the least; the declama-" tions against the Revolutionists are much "worse. M. Renouard has made the Chief of the "Sixteen the Capuchin Chabot of the Convention. "There is matter in his piece to gratify every "party and every passion: were I to allow it "to be represented in Paris, I should probably

" hear of half a hundred people murdering one " another in the pit. Besides, the author has " made Henri IV. a true Philinte, and the Duke " de Guise a Figaro, which is much too great " an outrage on history. The Duke of Guise was " one of the most distinguished men of his time; " and if he had but ventured, he might, at that " time, have established the fourth dynasty. " Besides, he was related to the Empress; he " was a Prince of the house of Austria, with " whom we are in friendship, and whose Ambas- " sador was present this evening at the representa- " tion. The author has in more than one instance " shewn a strange disregard of propriety." The Emperor afterwards said, that he felt more than ever fixed in the determination he had formed, not to permit any new tragedy to be played on the public stage before it had undergone a trial at the theatre of the Court. He therefore prohibited the representation of the *Etats de Blois*. It is worthy of remark, that since the restoration of the King, this piece was revived with the greatest pomp, and supported by all the favour which the prohibition of the Emperor would naturally procure for it. But, notwithstanding all this, it failed; so correct was the judgment which Napoleon had passed upon it.

Talma, the celebrated tragedian, had frequent interviews with the Emperor, who greatly admired his talent, and rewarded him magnificently.

When the First Consul became Emperor, it was reported all over Paris, that he had Talma to give him lessons in attitude and costume. The Emperor, who always knew every thing that was said against him, rallied Talma one day on the subject, and finding him look quite disconcerted and confounded,—"You are wrong," said he, "I certainly could not have employed myself "better, if I had had leisure for it." On the contrary, it was the Emperor who gave Talma lessons in his art: "Racine," said he to him, "has "loaded his character of Orestes with imbecili- "ties, and you only add to their extravagance. "In the *Mort de Pompée*, you do not play Cæsar "like a hero; in Britannicus, you do not play "Nero like a tyrant." Every one knows the corrections which Talma afterwards made in his performances of these celebrated characters.

Contractors, &c. during the Revolution.—The Emperor's credit on his return from Elba.—His reputation in the public offices as a rigid investigator.—Ministers of Finance and the Treasury.—Cadastre.

29th.—At six o'clock, the Emperor having finished his daily occupations, went out to walk in the garden. We then took a drive in the calash: it was quite dark, and rained very fast when we returned.

After dinner, while coffee was served out, which we took without rising from our seats at

the dining-table, the conversation turned on what were termed the Agents, during the Revolution, and the great fortunes which they acquired. The Emperor knew the name, the family, the profession, and the character, of every one of these men.

Scarcely had Napoleon attained the Consulship than he became engaged in a dispute with the celebrated Madame Recamier, whose father held a situation in the Post-office department. Napoleon, on first taking the reins of Government, was obliged to sign in confidence a great number of lists; but he soon established the most rigid inspection in every department. He discovered that a correspondence with the Chouans was going on under the connivance of M. Bernard, the father of Madame Recamier. He was immediately dismissed, and narrowly escaped being brought to trial, by which he would doubtless have been condemned to death. His daughter flew to the First Consul, and, at her solicitation, Napoleon exempted M. Bernard from taking his trial; but was resolute with respect to his dismissal. Madame Recamier, who had been accustomed to ask for every thing, and to obtain every thing, would be satisfied with nothing less than the reinstatement of her father. The severity of the First Consul excited loud animadversions; it was a thing quite unusual. Madame

Recamier and her party, which was very numerous, never forgave him.

The contractors and agents were the class who, above all, excited the uneasiness of the new Supreme Magistrate, who called them the scourge and the plague of the nation. The Emperor observed, that all France would not have satisfied the ambition of the individuals of this party who were in Paris; that, when he came to the head of affairs, they constituted an absolute power; and that they were most dangerous to the state, whose springs were corrupted by their intrigues, joined to those of their numerous dependants.—In truth, said he, they could never be regarded as any thing but sources of corruption and ruin, like jews and usurers. They had discredited the Directory, and they wished in like manner to control the Consulate. It may be said, that at that period they enjoyed the highest rank and influence in society.

"One of the principal retrograde steps," said the Emperor, "which I took, with the view of restor-
"ing the past state and manners of society, was to
"throw all this false lustre back into the crowd.
"I never would raise any of this class to distinc-
"tion: of all aristocracies, this appeared to me
"the worst." The Emperor rendered to Lebrun the justice of having specially confirmed him in this principle. "The party always disliked me

" for this," said the Emperor; " but they were " still less inclined to pardon the rigid enquiry " which I instituted into their accounts with the " Government."

The Emperor said, that in business of this sort he turned the service of his Council of State to the best account. He used to appoint a committee of four or five members of the Council, men of integrity and intelligence. They made their report to him, and if the case required farther investigation, they wrote at the bottom of the report: *referred to the Grand Judge to be submitted to his laws.* The individuals implicated generally endeavoured to compromise the affair, when it arrived to this length. They would disgorge one, two, three, or four millions, rather than suffer the business to be legally investigated. The Emperor was well aware, that all these facts were misrepresented in the different circles of the capital, that they produced him many enemies, and drew down upon him the reproach of arbitrariness and tyranny. But he thus acquitted a great duty to the mass of society, who must have been grateful to him for the measures he adopted towards these blood-suckers of the public.

" Men are always the same," said the Emperor: " from the time of Pharamond downwards, " contractors have always acted thus, and peo- " ple have always acted the same with respect

" to them. But at no period of the monarchy " were they ever attacked in so legal a form, or " assailed so energetically and openly as by me. " Even among the contractors themselves, the " few individuals who possessed honesty and in- " tegrity found in this extreme severity a new " guarantee for their own conduct. A remark- " able instance of this occurred after my return " from Elba. Some houses in London and Am- " sterdam secretly negotiated with me a loan of " from 80 to 400,000,000, at a profit of seven or " eight per cent. The neat sum, which was de- " posited in the Treasury of Paris, was paid " to them by rentes on the great book at fifty; " they were then distributed among the public " at fifty-six or fifty-seven."

This resource, so useful in the crisis in which the Emperor was placed, and which must at the same time have been so satisfactory and flattering to himself personally, proves the real opinion that was entertained of Napoleon in Europe, and the confidence which he inspired. This negotiation, which was unknown at the time, explains whence the Emperor derived the financial resources of which he suddenly found himself possessed on his return from Elba; which was a great subject of conjecture at the time.

The Emperor himself said, that he enjoyed singular reputation among the heads of offices and accountants. The examination of accounts

was a thing which he very well understood. "The circumstance that first gained me repu-
"tation, in this way, was that while balancing a
"yearly account during the Consulate, I disco-
"vered an error of 2,000,000 to the disadvantage
"of the Republic. M. Dufresne, who was then
"chief of the treasury, and who was a perfectly
"honest man, at first would not believe that the
"error existed. However, it was an affair of
"figures; the fact could not be denied. At the
"treasury several months were occupied in en-
"deavouring to discover the error. It was at
"length found in an account of the contractor
"Seguin, who immediately acknowledged it on
"being shewn the accounts, and restored the
"money, saying it was a mistake."

On another occasion as the Emperor was examining the accounts of the pay of the garrison of Paris, he observed an article of sixty and some odd thousand francs set down to a detachment which had never been in the capital. The minister made a note of the error, merely from complaisance, but was convinced in his own mind that the Emperor was mistaken. Napoleon however proved to be right, and the sum was restored.

The Emperor regarded as a matter of the highest importance, the separation of the departments of finance and the treasury, both for the sake of keeping the business of the two departments distinct, and for enabling them to become

mutual checks to each other. The minister of the treasury, under a sovereign like Napoleon, was the most important man in the empire; not merely as minister of the treasury, but as comptroller-general. All the accounts of the empire came under his examination, and he was thus enabled to detect every kind of peculation and abuse, and to make them known to the sovereign; and communications of this nature were daily made. To special appropriations Napoleon also attached the greatest importance, as having been among the happiest springs of his administration.

Speaking of the *cadastre*, he said that according to the plan which he had drawn up, it might be considered as the real constitution of the empire. It was the true guarantee of property, and the security for the independence of each individual; for the tax being once fixed and established by the legislature, each individual might make his own arrangements, and had nothing to fear from the authority or arbitrary conduct of assessors, which is always the point most sensibly felt, and the surest to enforce submission. During this conversation, the Emperor gave his opinion of the talents of MM. Gaudin, Mollien, and Louis, as well as of most of his other ministers and counsellors of state. He concluded by observing that he had succeeded in creating a system of government, doubtless the purest and most energetic in Europe; and that he himself had

the details so much at his command, that he was sure he now could, merely with the help of the Moniteurs, trace the complete history of the financial administration of the empire during his reign.

March 1st.—To-day two vessels arrived from the Cape. One, the Wellesley, a seventy-four, had another dismounted ship in her hold. They were both Indian-built ships, and were made of teak wood, which in India is three-fourths cheaper than in England. This is an excellent kind of wood; and it is supposed that ships made of it will last much longer than European-built ships; though hitherto it has been complained that they are not such good sailers. However, it is not improbable that this teak wood may produce a revolution in the materials and construction of English ships.

2d.—The Chinese fleet is arrived. Several vessels successively entered the road in course of the day, and many others are within sight. This is a sort of festival and harvest for the people of Saint-Helena. The money which these transient visitors circulate in the Island constitutes a chief portion of the revenues of the inhabitants.

At five o'clock the Emperor proceeded to the garden, and went on foot as far as an opening between some of the hills, whence we could discern several vessels at full sail, making for the Island.

The last ship that arrived from the Cape brought a phaeton for the Emperor. He wished to try it this evening, and he got into it, accompanied by the Grand Marshal, and rode round the park. He, however, thinks that this kind of equipage is both useless and ridiculous in present circumstances. After dinner the Emperor complained of being much fatigued, and he retired at an early hour.

The invasion of England.

3d.—The Emperor sent for me at two o'clock; I found him shaving. He told me that I beheld in him a man who was on the point of death, on the brink of the grave. He added that I must have been aware that he was ill, because he must have awoke me often during the night. I had, indeed, heard him cough and sneeze continually: he had a violent cold in his head, which he had caught in consequence of staying out too long in the damp air on the preceding evening. He stated his determination, in future, always to return in doors at six o'clock. After he had dressed, he sat down to his English lesson; but he did not continue at it long, for his head ached severely. He told me to sit down by him, and made me talk for more than two hours about what I had observed in London during my emigration. Among other things he inquired, "Were the English very much afraid of my in-"vasion? What was the general opinion at the

"time?"—"Sire," I replied, "I cannot inform "you: I had then returned to France. But in "the saloons of Paris we laughed at the idea of "an invasion of England; and the English who "were there at the time did so too. It was said "that even Brunet laughed at the scheme, and that "you had caused him to be imprisoned because "he had been insolent enough in one of his parts "to set some nut-shells afloat in a tub of water, "which he called manœuvring his little flotilla."— "Well!" replied the Emperor, "you might laugh "in Paris, but Pitt did not laugh in London. "He soon calculated the extent of the danger, "and therefore threw a coalition on my shoulders "at the moment when I raised my arm to strike. "Never was the English oligarchy exposed to "greater danger.

"I had taken measures to preclude the possi- "bility of failure in my landing. I had the best "army in the world; I need only say, it was the "army of Austerlitz. In four days I should have "been in London; I should have entered the "English capital, not as a conqueror, but as a "liberator. I should have been another William "III; but I would have acted with greater ge- "nerosity and disinterestedness. The discipline "of my army was perfect. My troops would "have behaved in London the same as they "would in Paris. No sacrifices, not even con- "tributions, would have been exacted from the

"English. We should have presented ourselves "to them, not as conquerors, but as brothers, "who came to restore to them their rights and "liberties. I would have assembled the citizens, "and directed them to labour themselves in the "task of their regeneration; because the English "had already preceded us in political legislation; "I would have declared that our only wish was to "be able to rejoice in the happiness and prosperity "of the English people; and to these professions "I would have strictly adhered. In the course of "a few months, the two nations, which had been "such determined enemies, would have henceforward composed only one people, identified in "principles, maxims, and interests. I should have "departed from England, in order to effect, from "south to north, under republican colours (for "I was then First Consul) the regeneration of "Europe, which, at a later period, I was on the "point of effecting, from north to south, under "monarchical forms. Both systems were equally "good, since both would have been attended by "the same result, and would have been carried "into execution with firmness, moderation, and "good faith. How many ills that are now endured, and how many that are yet to be experienced, would not unhappy Europe have "escaped! Never was a project so favourable "to the interests of civilization conceived with "more disinterested intentions, or so near being

" carried into execution. It is a remarkable fact, " that the obstacles which occasioned my failure " were not the work of men, but proceeded from " the elements. In the south, the sea frustrated " my plans; the burning of Moscow, the snow, " and the winter, completed my ruin in the " north. Thus water, air, and fire, all nature, " and nature alone, was hostile to the universal " regeneration, which nature herself called for!... " The problems of Providence are insoluble!"

After a few moments silence, he reverted to the subject of the English invasion. " It was sup- " posed," said he, " that my scheme was merely " a vain threat, because it did not appear that I " possessed any reasonable means of attempting " its execution. But I had laid my plans deeply, " and without being observed. I had dispersed all " our French ships; and the English were sailing " after them to different parts of the world. Our " ships were to return suddenly and at the same " time, and to assemble in a mass along the " French coasts. I would have had seventy or " eighty French or Spanish vessels in the Channel; " and I calculated that I should continue master " of it for two months. Three or four thousand " little boats were to be ready at a signal. A " hundred thousand men were every day drilled " in embarking and landing, as a part of their " exercise. They were full of ardour, and eager " for the enterprise, which was very popular

" with the French, and was supported by the " wishes of a great number of the English. After " landing my troops, I could calculate upon only " one pitched battle, the result of which could " not be doubtful; and victory would have " brought us to London. The nature of the " country would not admit of a war of ma- " nœuvring. My conduct would have done the " rest. The people of England groaned under " the yoke of an oligarchy. On feeling that their " pride had not been humbled, they would have " ranged themselves on our side. We should " have been considered only as allies come to " effect their deliverance. We should have pre- " sented ourselves with the magical words of " liberty and equality," &c.

After adverting to a great number of the minor details of the plan, which were all admirable, and remarking how very near it had been to its execution, he suddenly stopped, and said, " Let us " go out, and take a turn." We walked for some time; it had been raining for three days, but now the weather was perfectly fine. The Emperor, not forgetting his resolution to be in doors always by six o'clock, immediately ordered the calash; took a drive, and returned home in good time. My son followed on horseback; it was the first time he had enjoyed such an honour. He acquitted himself very well, and the Emperor complimented him on the occasion.

The Emperor continued unwell, and retired to rest very early.

The Chinese Fleet.

4th.—To-day the Emperor received some captains of the China fleet. He conversed a long time with two of them respecting their trade, the facility of their intercourse with the Chinese, the manners of that people, &c. The ships which trade to China are from 14 to 1500 tons burthen, almost equal to sixty-fours; and they draw from twenty-two to twenty-three feet of water: they are laden almost exclusively with tea. One of those just arrived had nearly 1500 tons on board. The cargoes of the six ships which came into the road last night are valued at about sixty millions; and as they will be subject to a duty of 100 per cent. on their arrival in England, 120 millions will thus at once be thrown into circulation in Europe.

Europeans are allowed very little liberty at Canton. Their residence is chiefly limited to the suburbs. They are treated with the greatest contempt by the Chinese, who assume an air of great superiority, and conduct themselves in a very arbitrary manner. The Chinese are very intelligent, industrious, and active; but they are great thieves, and extremely treacherous. They transact all business in the European languages, which they speak with facility.

The arrival of fleets at Saint-Helena is a cir-

cumstance equally pleasing to the crews and the inhabitants of the Island. The latter sell their merchandize and purchase provisions; the seamen, on their part, are enabled to set foot on land, and to refresh themselves. This state of things usually continues for a fortnight or three weeks; but, on the present occasion, the Admiral, to the great disappointment of every body, limited the period of refreshment to two days only for the two first ships that had anchored off the town.—The others were ordered to remain under sail, and to come up to the town in succession, two by two. It may be supposed that he had received very strict orders, or was under great apprehension, which we do not doubt.

The Emperor walked for some time in the garden before he got into his calash. Among the trees in the neighbourhood, we perceived some officers newly arrived at the Island, who were endeavouring to get a peep at the Emperor, the sight of whom seemed to be an object of great importance to them.

Etiquette of the Emperor's Court.—Circumstance that took place at Tarare.—Officers of State.—Chamberlains.—Unequalled splendour of the Court of the Tuileries.—Admirable regulation of the Palace.—The Emperor's Levees.—Dining in State.—The Court and the City.

5th.—To-day the Emperor conversed a great deal about his court and the etiquette observed

in it. The following is the substance of what fell from him on this subject.

At the period of the Revolution, the Courts of Spain and Naples still imitated the ceremony and grandeur of Louis XIV, mingled with the pomp and exaggeration of the Castilians and Moors. The Court of Saint-Petersburgh had assumed the tone and forms of the drawing-room; that of Vienna, had become quite citizen-like; and there no longer remained any vestige of the wit, the grace, and the good taste of the Court of Versailles.

When, therefore, Napoleon attained the sovereign power, he found a clear road before him, and he had an opportunity of forming a Court according to his own taste. He was desirous of adopting a national medium by accommodating the dignity of the throne to modern customs, and, particularly, by making the creation of a Court contribute to improve the manners of the great, and promote the industry of the mass of the people. It certainly was no easy matter to reconstruct a throne on the very spot where a reigning monarch had been judicially executed, and where the people had constitutionally sworn their hatred of kings. It was not easy to restore dignities, titles, and decorations, among a people who for the space of fifteen years had waged a war of proscription against them. Napoleon, however, who seemed always to possess the power of effecting

what he wished, perhaps because he had the art of wishing for what was just and proper, after a great struggle surmounted all these difficulties. When he became Emperor, he created a class of nobility, and formed a Court. Victory seemed all on a sudden to do her utmost to consolidate and shed a lustre over this new order of things. All Europe acknowledged the Emperor; and at one period it might have been said, that all the Courts of the Continent had flocked to Paris to add to the splendour of the Tuileries, which was the most brilliant and numerous Court ever seen. There was a continued series of parties, balls, and entertainments; and the Court was always distinguished for extraordinary magnificence and grandeur. The person of the sovereign was alone remarkable for extreme simplicity, which, indeed, was a characteristic that served to distinguish him amidst the surrounding splendour. He encouraged all this magnificence, he said, from motives of policy, and not because it accorded with his own taste. It was calculated to encourage manufactures and national industry. The ceremonies and fêtes which took place on the marriage of the Empress and the birth of the King of Rome, far surpassed any which had preceded them, and probably will never again be equalled.

The Emperor endeavoured to establish, in his foreign relations, every thing that was calculated to place him in harmony with the other Courts of

Europe; but at home he constantly tried to adapt old forms to new manners.

He established the morning and evening levees of the old kings of France; but with him these levees were merely nominal, and did not exist in reality, as in former times. Instead of being occupied in the details of the toilet, and the conversations which might naturally ensue, these levees under the Emperor were, in fact, appropriated to receiving in the morning, and dismissing in the evening, such persons of his household as had to receive orders directly from him, and who were privileged to pay their court to him at those hours.

The Emperor also established special presentations to his person and admission to his Court; but instead of making noble birth the only means of securing these honours, the title for obtaining them was founded solely on the combined bases of fortune, influence, and public services.

Napoleon, moreover, created titles, the qualifications for which gave the last blow to the old feudal system. These titles, however, possessed no real value, and were established for an object purely national. Those which were unaccompanied by any prerogatives or privileges might be enjoyed by persons of any rank or profession, and were bestowed as rewards for all kinds of services. The Emperor observed that abroad they

had the useful effect, of appearing to be an approximation to the old manners of Europe, while at the same time they served as a toy for amusing the vanities of many individuals at home; "for," said he, "how many really clever men "are children oftener than once in their lives!"

The Emperor revived decorations of honour, and distributed crosses and ribbands. But instead of confining them to particular and exclusive classes, he extended them to society in general as rewards for every description of talent and public service. By a happy privilege, perhaps peculiar to Napoleon, it happened that the value of these honours was enhanced in proportion to the number distributed. He estimated that he had conferred about 25,000 decorations of the Legion of Honour; and the desire to obtain the honour, he said, increased until it became a kind of *mania.*

After the battle of Wagram he sent the decoration of the Legion of Honour to the Archduke Charles, and by a refinement in compliment, peculiar to Napoleon, he sent him merely the silver cross, which was worn by the private soldiers.

The Emperor said, that it was only by acting strictly and voluntarily in conformity with these maxims, that he had become the real national monarch; and an adherence to the same course would have rendered the fourth dynasty, the

truly constitutional one. Of these facts, said he, the people of the lowest rank frequently evinced an instinctive knowledge.

The Emperor related the following anecdote:—On returning from his coronation in Italy, as he approached the environs of Lyons, he found all the population assembled on the roads to see him pass, and he took a fancy to ascend the mountain of Tarare alone. He gave orders that nobody should follow him, and mingling with the crowd he accosted an old woman, and asked what all the bustle meant. She replied that the Emperor was expected. After some little conversation he said to her:—"My good woman, "formerly you had Capet the tyrant; now you "have Napoleon the tyrant,—what have you "gained by the change?" The force of this argument disconcerted the old woman for a moment; but she immediately recollected herself, and replied, "Pardon me, sir, there is a great diffe-"rence. We ourselves have chosen Napoleon, "but we got Capet by chance."—"The old "woman was right," said the Emperor, "and she "exhibited more instinctive good sense than "many men who are possessed of great informa-"tion and talent."

The Emperor surrounded himself with great crown officers. He established a numerous household of chamberlains, grooms, &c. He selected persons to fill these offices indiscriminately from

among those whom the Revolution had elevated, and from the ancient families which it had ruined. The former considered themselves as standing on an estate which they had acquired; the latter on one which they thought they might recover. The Emperor had in view, by this mixture of persons, the extinction of hatreds and the amalgamation of parties. He observed, however, that he was not displeased at seeing a variety of manners. The individuals belonging to the ancient families performed their duties with the greatest courtesy and assiduity. A Madame de Montmorency would have stooped down to tie the Empress's shoes; a lady of the new school would have hesitated to do this, lest she should be taken for a real waiting-woman; but the Madame de Montmorency had no such apprehension. These posts of honour were for the most part without emolument; they were even attended with expense. But they brought the individuals who filled them, daily under the eye of the Sovereign—of an all-powerful Sovereign, the source of honour and grace; and who declared that he would not have the lowest officer in his household solicit a favour from any one but himself.

At the time of his marriage with the Empress Maria-Louisa, the Emperor made an extensive recruit of chamberlains from among the highest ranks of the old aristocracy; this he did with the view of proving to Europe that there existed but one party in France, and of rallying round the Em-

press those individuals whose names must have been familiar to her. It is understood that the Emperor even hesitated whether or not to select the lady of honour from that class; but his fear lest the Empress, with whose character he was unacquainted, might be imbued with prejudices respecting birth, that might too much elate the old party, induced him to make another choice.

From this moment until the period of our disasters, the most ancient and illustrious families eagerly solicited places in the household of the Emperor; and how could it be otherwise? The Emperor governed the world: he had raised France and the French people above the level of other nations. Power, glory, constituted his retinue. Happy were they who inhaled the atmosphere of the Imperial Court. To be immediately connected with the Emperor's person, furnished, both abroad and at home, a title to consideration, homage, and respect.

Upon the Restoration, a royalist, who had preserved himself pure, and in whose sight I had found grace, said to me, in the most serious tone, (for, what a difference in ideas does not difference of party produce!) that with my name, and the openness of conduct I had maintained, I ought not to despair of still obtaining a situation near the King, or in the household of some of the Princes or Princesses. How greatly was he astonished when I replied:—"My friend, I have

"rendered that impossible: I have served the "most powerful master upon earth: I cannot in "future, without degradation, stand in the same "relation to any other. Know, that when we "conveyed the orders of the Emperor to a dis- "tance, into foreign courts, wearing his uniform, "we considered ourselves, and were every where "treated, as upon an equality with princes. He "has presented to us the spectacle of no less than "seven Kings waiting in his saloons, in the midst "of us, and with us. On his marriage, four "Queens bore the robe of the Empress, of whom, "moreover, one of us was the Gentleman Usher, "another the Equery. Trust then, my friend, "that a noble ambition may be perfectly satisfied "with such honours."

Besides, the magnificence and splendour that composed this unexampled Court, rested on a system and a regularity of administration, that has excited the astonishment and admiration of those who have searched amid its wreck. The Emperor himself inspected the accounts several times in the course of the year. All his mansions were found to be repaired and decorated: they contained nearly forty millions in household furniture, besides four millions in plate. If he had enjoyed a few years of peace, imagination can scarcely fix limits, he said, to what he would have accomplished.

The Emperor said, he had conceived an excel-

lent idea, which he was much grieved at not having put in execution: it was to have commissioned some persons to collect the most important petitions: "They should have named every day," said he, "three or four individuals from the provinces, "who would have been admitted to my levee, and "have explained their business to me in person; "I would have discussed it with them immediately, "and administered justice to them without delay."

I observed to the Emperor, that the Commission he had created at a very early period, under the name of "Commission of Petitions," came very near the idea in question, and was, in fact, productive of much good. I was President of it on his return from Elba, and in the first month I had already done justice to more than four thousand petitions. "It is true," I observed, "that circumstances "originally, and custom afterwards, had never "allowed this establishment to enjoy the most "valuable prerogative with which its organization "had been endowed, that which would undoubt-"edly have produced the greatest effect on public "opinion; namely, to present to him officially, at "his great audience on Sunday, the result of the "week's labours." But the nature of things, the constant expeditions of the Emperor, and, above all, the jealousy of the Ministers, had concurred to deprive the Commission of this high privilege.

The Emperor said, also, he was sorry he had not established it as part of the etiquette of the

Court, that all persons who had been presented, females particularly, who had any claim to obtain an audience of him, should have the unquestioned right of entering the anti-chamber. The Emperor, passing through it several times in the day, might have taken the opportunity to satisfy some of their requests; and might in this manner have spared the refusal of audiences, or the loss of time occasioned by them. The Emperor had hesitated for some time, he said, about re-establishing the *grand couvert* of the kings of France, that is, the dining in public, every Sunday, of the whole Imperial family. He asked our opinion of it. We differed: Some approved of it, represented this family spectacle as beneficial to public morals, and fitted to produce the best effects on public spirit; besides, said they, it afforded means for every individual to see his sovereign. Others opposed it, objecting that this ceremony involved something of divine right and feudality, of ignorance and servility, which had no place in our habits or the modern dignity of them. They might go to see the sovereign at the church or the theatre: there, they joined at least in the performance of his religious duties, or took part in his pleasures; but to go to see him eat, was only to confer ridicule on both parties. The sovereignty having now become, as the Emperor had so well said, a magistracy, should only be seen in full activity; conferring favours, repairing

injuries, transacting business, reviewing armies, and above all, divested of the infirmities and the wants of human nature, &c. . . . Its utility, its benefits, should form its new charm: the image of the sovereign should be present continually and unlooked-for, like Providence. Such was the new school:—such had been ours.

"Well," said the Emperor, "it may be true "that the circumstances of the time should have "limited this ceremony to the Imperial heir, and "only during his youth; for he was the child of "the whole nation: he ought to become thence-"forth the object of the sentiments and the sight "of all."

On his return from Elba, the Emperor said he had an idea of dining every Sunday in the *Galerie de Diane*, with four or five hundred guests: this, said he, would undoubtedly have produced a great effect on the public, particularly at the time of the *Champ de Mai*, on the assembling of the Deputies from the departments at Paris; but the rapidity and the importance of business prevented it. Besides, he was apprehensive, perhaps, that there might have been observed in this measure, too great an affectation of popularity, and that his enemies abroad might give it the semblance of fear on his part.

It is the custom, said the Emperor, to talk of the influence of the tone and manners of the Court upon those of a nation; he was far from having

brought about any such result; but it was the fault of circumstances and of several unperceived combinations: he had reflected much on the subject, and he thought it would have been accomplished in time.

"The Court," he continued, "taken collec-
" tively, does not exert this influence; it is only
" because its elements, those who compose it, go
" to communicate, each in his own sphere of ac-
" tion, that which they have collected from the
" common source; the tone of the Court, then,
" is not infused into a whole nation, but through
" intermediate societies. Now, we had no such
" societies, nor could we yet have them. Those
" delightful assemblies, where one enjoys so
" fully the advantages of civilization, suddenly
" disappear at the approach of revolutions, and
" are re-established but slowly, when the tem-
" pests dissipate. The indispensable bases of
" company are indolence and luxury; but we
" were all still in a state of agitation, and great
" fortunes were not yet firmly established. A
" great number of theatres, a multitude of public
" establishments, moreover, presented pleasures
" more ready, less constrained, and more exciting.
" The women of the day, taken collectively,
" were young; they liked better to be out and to
" shew themselves in public, than to remain at
" home and compose a narrower circle. But
" they would have grown old, and with a little

" time and tranquillity, every thing would have " fallen into its natural course. And then again," he observed, "it would perhaps be an error to " judge of a modern Court by the remembrance " of the old ones. The power certainly resided in " the old Courts: they said, the Court and the " City;—at the present day, if we desired to " speak correctly, we were obliged to say the " City and the Court. The feudal lords, since " they have lost their power, seek to make " themselves amends in their enjoyments. So- " vereigns themselves seemed to be, for the fu- " ture, submitted to this law: the throne, with " our liberal ideas, insensibly ceased to be a " seigniory, and became purely a magistracy: " the Prince having only a simple practical cha- " racter to sustain, always sufficiently dull and " tedious in the long-run, must seek to withdraw " from it, to come, as a mere citizen, and take his " share in the charms of society."

Among a great number of new measures projected by the Emperor for a more tranquil futurity, his favourite idea had been, peace being obtained and repose secured, to devote his life to purifying the administration and to local ameliorations; to be occupied in perpetual tours in the departments: he would have visited, not hurried over; sojourned, not posted through: he would have used his own horses, would have been surrounded by the Empress, the King of Rome, his whole

Court. At the same time, he wished this great equipage not to be burdensome to any, but rather a benefit to all: a suit of tapestry hangings and all the other appendages, following in the train, would have furnished and decorated his places of rest. The other persons of the Court, he said, would have been extremely welcome to the citizens, who would have looked upon their guests as a benefit rather than a burden, because they would always have been the sure means of their acquiring some advantage or some favours. "It "is thus," he continued, "that I should have "been able in every place to prevent frauds, pu- "nish misappropriations, direct edifices, bridges, "roads; drain marshes, fertilize lands, &c.—If "Heaven had then," he continued, "granted me "a few years, I would certainly have made Paris "the capital of the world, and all France a real "fairy-land." He often repeated these last words: how many people have already said this, or will repeat it after him!

Set of Chessmen from China.—Presentation of the Captains of the China Fleet.

6th.—The Emperor mounted his horse at seven o'clock: he told me to call my son to accompany us; this was a great favour. During our ride the Emperor dismounted five or six times to observe, with the help of a glass, some vessels that were in sight: he ascertained one to be a Dutchman;

the three colours are always, with us, an object of sentiment and of lively emotion. On one of these occasions, the most mettlesome horse in the company got loose, and occasioned a long pursuit: my son came up with him, brought him back in triumph, and the Emperor observed, that in a tournament this would be a victory.

On our return, the Emperor breakfasted within doors: he detained us all.

Before and after breakfast, the Emperor conversed with me on serious matters, which I cannot trust to paper.

The heat was become excessive: he retired. It was half past four when he sent for me again; he was finishing dressing. The Doctor brought him a set of chessmen, which he had been buying on board the vessels from China; the Emperor had wished to have one. For this he had paid thirty Napoleons: it was an object of great admiration with the worthy Doctor; and, at the same time, nothing seemed more ridiculous to the Emperor. All the pieces, instead of resembling our's, were coarse and clumsy images of the figures indicated by the names: thus, a knight was armed at all points, and the castle rested on an enormous elephant, &c. The Emperor could not make use of them, saying, pleasantly, that every piece would require a crane to move it.

In the mean time many officers and others employed in the China fleet were sauntering in the

garden. Their curiosity had led them, some hours before, to our dwelling; we had been literally invaded in our chambers. One said, the pride of his life would be to have seen Napoleon; another, that he dared not appear in his wife's presence in England, if he could not tell her that he had been fortunate enough to behold his features; another, that he would willingly forego all the profits of his voyage for a single glance, &c.

The Emperor caused them to be admitted: it would be difficult to describe their satisfaction and joy: they had not ventured to expect or to hope for so much. The Emperor, according to custom, proposed many questions to them concerning China, its commerce, its inhabitants; their revenues, their manners; the missionaries, &c. He detained them above half an hour, before he dismissed them. At their departure we described to him the enthusiasm we had witnessed in these officers, and repeated all that had fallen from them relative to him. "I be-"lieve it," said he; "you do not perceive that "they are our friends. All that you have ob-"served in them, belongs to the Commons of "England—the natural enemies, perhaps with-"out giving themselves credit for it, of their old "and insolent Aristocracy."

At dinner the Emperor ate little; he was unwell: after coffee, he attempted a game at

chess, but he was too much inclined for sleep, and retired almost immediately.

A Trick.

7th.—The Emperor mounted his horse at a very early hour; he told me again to call my son to accompany him. The evening before, the Emperor, seeing him on horseback, had asked me if I did not make him learn to groom his horse; that nothing was more useful; that he had given particular orders for it in the military school at Saint-Germain. I was vexed that such an idea had escaped me; I seized it eagerly, and my son still more so. He was at this moment on a horse that no one had touched but himself. The Emperor, whom I informed of it, seemed pleased, and condescended to make him go through a sort of little examination. Our ride lasted nearly two hours and a half, rambling all the time about Longwood.

At our return the Emperor had breakfast in the garden, to which he detained us all.

A short time before dinner, I presented myself as usual in the drawing-room: the Emperor was playing at chess with the Grand Marshal. The valet-de-chambre in waiting at the door of the room brought me a letter, on which was written *very urgent*. Out of respect to the Emperor, I went aside to read it: it was in English; it stated that I had composed an excellent work; that, nevertheless, it was not without faults; that

if I would correct them in a new edition, no doubt but the work would be more valuable for it; and then went on to pray that God would keep me in his gracious and holy protection. Such a letter excited my astonishment, and made me rather angry; the colour rushed to my face; I did not, at first, give myself time to consider the writing. In reading it over again I recognised the hand, notwithstanding its being much better written than usual, and I could not help laughing a good deal to myself. But the Emperor, who cast a side-glance at me, asked me from whom the letter came that was given to me. I replied, that it was a paper that had caused a very different feeling in me at first, from that which it would leave permanently. I said this with so much simplicity, the mystification had been so complete, that he laughed till tears came in his eyes. The letter was from him; the pupil had a mind to jest with his master, and try his powers at his expense. I carefully preserve this letter; the gaiety, the style, and the whole circumstance, render it more valuable to me than any diploma the Emperor could have put into my hands when he was in power.

An opportunity for the Emperor to make use of his English. —On medicine.—Corvisart.—Definition.—On the Plague. —Medical practice in Babylon.

8th.—The Emperor had had no sleep during the night; he had, therefore, amused himself with

writing me another letter in English; he sent it to me sealed; I corrected the errors in it, and sent him an answer also in English, by the return of the courier. He understood me perfectly: this convinced him of the progress he had made, and satisfied him that for the future he could, strictly speaking, correspond in his new tongue.

For nearly a fortnight past General Gourgaud had been unwell; his indisposition had turned to a very malignant dysentery, which occasioned some alarm. The Admiral now sent him the Surgeon of the Northumberland (Dr. Warden); the Emperor detained this gentleman to dinner. During the repast, and for a long time afterwards, the conversation was exclusively on medicine; sometimes lively, sometimes serious and profound. The Emperor was in good spirits: he talked with great volubility; he overwhelmed the Doctor with questions, and with ingenious and subtle arguments, that perplexed him much: the latter was much dazzled by this brilliancy; so that, after dinner, he took me aside to ask me how it happened that the Emperor was so well informed on these matters: he did not doubt but they were his usual topics of conversation. "Not more "than any thing else," I said, with truth; "but "there are few subjects with which the Emperor "is unacquainted, and he treats them all in a "new and engaging manner."

The Emperor has no faith in medicine, or its

remedies, of which he makes no use. "Doctor," said he, "our body is a machine for the purpose "of life: it is organized to that end—that is its "nature. Leave the life there at its ease, let it "take care of itself, it will do better than if you "paralyze it by loading it with medicines. It is "like a well-made watch, destined to go for a "certain time; the watch-maker has not the power "of opening it, he cannot meddle with it but at "random, and with his eyes bandaged. For one "who, by dint of racking it with his ill-formed "instruments, succeeds in doing it any good, how "many blockheads destroy it altogether!" &c.

The Emperor, then, did not admit the utility of medicine but in a few cases, in disorders that were known and distinctly ascertained by time and experience; and he then compared the art of the physician with that of the engineer in regular sieges, where the maxims of Vauban, and the rules of experience, have brought all the chances within the scope of known laws. In accordance, too, with these principles, the Emperor had conceived the idea of a law, which should have allowed to the mass of medical practitioners in France the use of simple medicines only, and forbidden them to employ *heroic* remedies, that is, such as may cause death, unless they made three or four thousand francs, at least, by their profession; which, said he, afforded grounds for supposing them to have education, judgment, and a

certain public reputation. "This measure," said he, "was certainly just and beneficent; but in my "circumstances it was unseasonable: informa- "tion was not yet sufficiently diffused. No doubt "but the mass of the people would have only "seen an act of tyranny in the law, which, not- "withstanding, would have rescued them from "their executioners."

The Emperor had frequently attacked the celebrated Corvisart, his physician, upon the subject of medicine. The latter, waving the honour of the profession, and of his colleagues, confessed that he entertained nearly the same opinions, and even acted upon them. He was a great enemy to medicines, and employed them very sparingly: the Empress Maria Louisa, suffering much during her pregnancy, and teazing him for relief, he artfully gave her some pills composed of crumb of bread, which did not fail to be of great service to her, she observed.

The Emperor said, he had brought Corvisart to admit that medicine was a resource available only for the few; that it might be of some benefit to the rich, but that it was the scourge of the poor. "Now, do you not believe," said the Emperor, "that seeing the uncertainty of the art itself, and "the ignorance of those who practise it, its effects, "taken in the aggregate, are more fatal than use- "ful to the people?" Corvisart assented without hesitation. "But have you never killed any body

" yourself?" continued the Emperor; " that is to " say, have not some patients died, evidently in " consequence of your prescriptions?"—" Un- " doubtedly," replied Corvisart; " but I ought " no more to let that weigh upon my conscience, " than would your Majesty, if you had caused the " destruction of some troops, not from having " made a bad movement, but because their march " was impeded by a ditch or a precipice, which it " was impossible for you to be aware of," &c.

Thence the Emperor went on to some problems and definitions, which he proposed to the Doctor. " What is life?" said he to him; " when and " how do we receive it? Is that still any thing " but mystery?" Then he defined harmless madness to be a vacancy or incoherence of judgment between just perceptions and the application of them: an insane man eats grapes in a vineyard that is not his own; and, in reply to the expostulations of the owner, says:—" Here are two of " us; the sun shines upon us; then I have a right " to eat grapes." The dangerous madman was he in whom this vacancy or incoherence of judgment occurred between perceptions and actions: it was he who cut off the head of a sleeping man, and concealed himself behind a hedge, to enjoy the perplexity of the dead body when he should awake.

The Emperor next asked the Doctor what was the difference between sleep and death; and

answered it himself by saying, that sleep was the momentary suspension of the faculties which are within the power of our volition; and death the lasting suspension, not only of these faculties, but also of those over which our will has no control.

From that, the conversation turned upon the plague. The Emperor maintained that it was taken by inspiration as well as by contact: he said that it was rendered most dangerous, and most extensively propagated, by fear; its principal seat was in the imagination. In Egypt, all those in whom that (the imagination) was affected, perished. The most prudent remedy was moral courage. He had touched with impunity, he said, some infected persons at Jaffa, and had saved many lives by deceiving the soldiers, during two months, as to the nature of the disease: it was not the plague, they were told, but a fever accompanied with ulcers. Moreover, he had observed that the best means to preserve the army from it, were to keep them on the march, and give them plenty of exercise: fatigue, and the occupation of the mind upon other subjects, were found the surest protection, &c.*

* It is mentioned in the Memoirs of M. Larey, as a phenomenon, or at least something remarkable, that the pressure of circumstances during the retreat from Saint-Jean-d'Acre, having compelled a reduction of the food for the sick to some plain thin biscuits, and their dressings to some brackish water, these invalids traversed sixty leagues of Desert without accidents, and with

The Emperor also said to the Doctor—"If "Hippocrates were on a sudden to enter your "hospital, would he not be much astonished? "would he adopt your maxims and your methods? "would he not find fault with you? On your "part, would you understand his language? "would you at all comprehend each other?"—He concluded by pleasantly extolling the practice of medicine in Babylon, where the patients were exposed at the door, and the relations, sitting near them, stopped the passengers to enquire if they had ever been afflicted in a similar way, and what had cured them. One had at least the certainty, said he, of escaping all those whose remedies had killed them.

9th.—I was breakfasting with the Emperor, after our English lesson, when I received a letter from my wife that filled me with joy and gratitude. She said, that neither fear, fatigue, nor distance, could prevent her joining me; that separated from me she could experience no happiness, and that she was only waiting for the proper season. Admirable devotion! superior to all that we have manifested here, inasmuch as it is exerted with a perfect knowledge of all its consequences. I

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so much advantage that the greater part found themselves well when they arrived in Egypt. He attributes this species of prodigy to the exercise, direct or indirect, to the dry heat of the Desert, and above all to the joy of returning to a country which had become for the soldiers a sort of new home.

cannot think that in England they will have the cruelty to refuse her: what does she solicit? favours, interest? No; she begs to share the lot of an exile on a solitary rock; to fulfil a duty, and to testify her affection. How far was I from forming a just estimate of the hearts and minds of those who detained us! Madame de Las Cases found herself constantly repulsed: sometimes under various pretexts; sometimes even without an answer. At last, and as if to rid himself of her importunity, Lord Bathurst caused her to be informed, in the beginning of 1817, that she would be permitted to go to the Cape of Good Hope (500 leagues beyond Saint-Helena), from whence, "if the Governor of Saint-Helena (Sir Hudson "Lowe) sees no objection, she will be allowed "to join her husband."

I leave without comment this specimen of ill-timed pleasantry, to the consideration of any one who has the feelings of a man. This letter came by the Owen-Glendower frigate, which arrived from the Cape, and brought us at the same time the European papers to December 4.

Trial of Ney.—The Emperor's carriage taken at Waterloo.—The interview at Dresden.—On the caprice of women.—The Princess Pauline.—Eloquent effusion of the Emperor.

10th—12th. The weather had now changed to those miserable pelting rains, which scarcely

permitted us to walk in the garden; fortunately we had newspapers to occupy our time. At length I had the satisfaction of seeing the Emperor read them without assistance.

These papers contained many details relating to the trial of Marshal Ney, which was at that time in progress. With reference to this, the Emperor said that the horizon was gloomy; that the unfortunate Marshal was certainly in great danger; but that we must not, however, despair. "The King "undoubtedly believes himself quite sure of the "Peers," said he; "they are certainly violent "enough, firmly resolved, highly incensed; but "for all that, suppose the slightest incident, some "new rumour, or I know not what; then you "would see, in spite of all the efforts of the King, "and of what they believe to be the interest of "their cause, the Chamber of Peers would, all "on a sudden, take it into their heads not to find "him guilty; and thus Ney may be saved."

This led the Emperor to dilate upon our volatile, fickle, and changeable disposition. "All the "French," said he, "are turbulent, and disposed "to rail; but they are not addicted to seditious "combinations, still less to actual conspiracy. "Their levity is so natural to them, their changes "so sudden, that it may be said to be a national "dishonour. They are mere weathercocks, the "sport of the winds, it is true; but this vice is "with them free from the calculations of interest,

" and that is their best excuse. But we must only " be understood to speak here of the mass, of " that which constitutes public opinion; for in- " dividual examples to the contrary have swarmed " in our latter times, that exhibit certain classes " in the most disgusting state of meanness."

It was this knowledge of the national character, the Emperor continued, that had always prevented his having recourse to the High Court. It was instituted by our Constitution; the Council of State had even decreed its organization; but the Emperor felt all the danger of the bustle and agitation that such spectacles always produce. " Such a proceeding," he said, " was in reality " an appeal to the public, and was always highly " injurious to authority, when the accused gained " the cause. A Ministry in England might sus- " tain, without inconvenience, the effects of a " decision against it under such circumstances; " but a sovereign like me, and situated as I was, " could not have suffered it without the utmost " danger to public affairs: for this reason, I pre- " ferred having recourse to the ordinary tribunals. " Malevolence often started objections to this; but " nevertheless, among all those whom it was " pleased to call victims, which of them, I ask " you, has retained his popularity in our late " struggles? They have taken care to justify " me: all of them are faded in the national " estimation."

The Emperor had reserved one article in the papers, that he might have my assistance in reading it; it referred to the carriage he lost at Waterloo: the great number of technical expressions rendered it too difficult for him. The editor gave a very circumstantial account of this carriage, with a minutely-detailed inventory of all its contents; to this he sometimes added the most frivolous reflections. In mentioning a small liquor-case, he observed that the Emperor never forgot *himself*, but took care to want nothing; in noticing certain elegant appendages to his dressing-case, he added that it might be seen he made his toilette *comme il faut* (the expression was in French). These last words produced a sensation in the Emperor, which certainly would not have been excited by a more important subject. "How!" said he to me, with a mixture of disgust and pain; "these people of England, then, take me for some "wild animal; have they really been led so far "as this? or their ————, who is a kind of "Ox Apis, as I am assured, does he not pay "that attention to his toilette that is considered "proper by every person of any education "among us?"

It is certain that I should have been a good deal puzzled to explain to him the writer's meaning. Besides, it is known that the Emperor, of all people in the world, set the least value on his personal convenience, and studied it the least;

but, on the other hand, and he acknowledged it with pleasure, there never was one for whom the devotion and attention of servants had been so diligent in that particular. As he ate at very irregular hours, they contrived, in the course of his journeys and campaigns, to have his dinner, similar to what he was accustomed to at the Tuileries, always ready within a few paces of him. He had but to speak, and he was instantly served; he himself said it was magic. During fifteen years he constantly drank a particular sort of Burgundy (Chambertin), which he liked and believed to be wholesome for him: he found this wine provided for him throughout Germany, in the remotest part of Spain, everywhere, even at Moscow, &c.; and it may truly be said that art, luxury, the refinement of elegance and good taste, contended around him, as if without his knowledge, to afford him gratification. The English journalists, therefore, described a multitude of objects that were undoubtedly in the carriage; but of which the Emperor had not the slightest notion: not that he was at all surprised at it, he observed.

The bad weather which continued to confine us within doors, had no influence on the disposition of the Emperor, who at this particular time seemed more unreserved and talked more than usual. He spoke at length, and with the most minute details, of the famous interview at

Dresden. The following are extracts from his conversation:—

This was the epoch when the power of Napoleon was at its height; he there appeared as the *king of kings;* he was actually obliged to observe, that some attention ought to be paid to the Emperor of Austria, his father-in-law. Neither this Sovereign nor the King of Prussia had any household establishment attending them; Alexander had none either at Tilsit or Erfurt. There, as at Dresden, they lived at Napoleon's table.—"These Courts," said the Emperor, "were "paltry and vulgar." It was he who regulated the etiquette, and took the lead in them; he made Francis take precedence of him, to his unbounded satisfaction. The luxury and magnificence of Napoleon must have made him appear like an Asiatic prince to them: there, as well as at Tilsit, he loaded with diamonds all that came near him. We informed him, that at Dresden he had not a single French soldier near him; and that his Court was sometimes not without apprehensions for the safety of his person. He could scarcely believe us;—but we assured him that it was a fact; that the Saxon body-guard was the only one he had. "It is all "one," he said; "I was then in so good a family, "with such worthy people, that I ran no risk; I "was beloved by all; and, at this very time, I am "sure the good King of Saxony repeats every

" day a *Pater* and an *Ave* for me." "He added, I " ruined the fortunes of that poor Princess Au- " gusta, and I acted very wrong in so doing. Re- " turning from Tilsit, I received, at Marienwer- " der, a chamberlain of the King of Saxony, who " délivered me a letter from his master; he wrote " thus: 'I have just received a letter from the " Emperor of Austria, who desires my daughter " in marriage; I send this to you, that you may " inform me what answer I ought to return.'—'I " shall be at Dresden in a few days,' was the reply of the Emperor; and, on his arrival, he set his face against the match, and prevented it. " I " was very wrong," repeated he; " I was fearful " the Emperor Francis would withdraw the King " of Saxony from me; on the contrary, the " Princess Augusta would have brought over " the Emperor Francis to my side, and I should " not now have been here."

At Dresden, Napoleon was much occupied in business, and Maria-Louisa, anxious to avail herself of the smallest intervals of leisure to be with her husband, scarcely ever went out, lest she should miss them. The Emperor Francis, who did nothing, and tired himself all day with going about the town, could not at all comprehend this family seclusion; he fancied that it was to affect reserve and importance. The Empress of Austria endeavoured greatly to get Maria-Louisa to go out; she represented to her that her constant

assiduity was ridiculous. She would willingly have given herself the airs of a stepmother with Maria-Louisa, who was not disposed to suffer it, their age being nearly the same. She came frequently in the morning to her toilette, ransacking among the luxurious and magnificent objects displayed there: she seldom went out empty-handed.

"The reign of Maria-Louisa was very short," said the Emperor; "but it must have been full "of enjoyment for her; she had the world at "her feet." One of us took the liberty to ask if the Empress of Austria was not the sworn enemy of Maria-Louisa. "Nothing more," said the Emperor, "than a little regular court-hatred; a "thorough detestation in the heart, but glossed "over by daily letters of four pages, full of coax-"ing and tenderness."

The Empress of Austria was particularly attentive to Napoleon, and took great pains to make much of him while he was present; but no sooner was his back turned, than she endeavoured to detach Maria-Louisa from him by the most mischievous and malicious insinuations; she was vexed that she could not succeed in obtaining some influence over her. "She has, however, "address and ability," said the Emperor, "and "that sufficient to embarrass her husband, who "had acquired a conviction that she entertained "a poor opinion of him. Her countenance was

" agreeable, engaging, and had something very " peculiar in it; she was a pretty little nun.

" As to the Emperor Francis, his good-nature " is well known, and makes him constantly the " dupe of the designing. His son will be like " him.

" The King of Prussia, as a private character, " is an honourable, good, and worthy man; but, " in his political capacity, he is naturally dis- " posed to yield to necessity: he is always com- " manded by whosoever has power on his side, " and seems about to strike.

" As to the Emperor of Russia, he is a man in- " finitely superior to these: he possesses wit, " grace, information, is fascinating; but he is not " to be trusted; he is devoid of candour, a true " *Greek of the Lower Empire.* At the same time " he is not without ideology, real or assumed:— " after all it may only be a smattering derived " from his education and his preceptor. Would " you believe," said the Emperor, " what I had " to discuss with him? He maintained that inhe- " ritance was an abuse in monarchy, and I had " to spend more than an hour, and employ all my " eloquence and logic, in proving to him that this " right constituted the peace and happiness of " the people. It may be, too, that he was mys- " tifying; for he is cunning, false, and expert, " . . . . . .; he can go a great length. " If I die here, he will be my real heir in Europe.

" I alone was able to stop him with his deluge of " Tartars. The crisis is great, and will have last- " ing effects upon the Continent of Europe, espe- " cially upon Constantinople: he was solicitous " with me for the possession of it. I have had " much coaxing on this subject; but I constantly " turned a deaf ear to it. That empire, shattered " as it appeared, would constantly have remained " a point of separation between us: it was the " marsh that prevented my right being turned. " As to Greece, it is another matter!" And after talking awhile upon that country, he renewed the subject: " Greece awaits a liberator! — " There will be a brilliant crown of glory! — " He will inscribe his name for ever with those of " Homer, Plato, and Epaminondas!—I perhaps " was not far from it!—When, during my cam- " paign in Italy, I arrived on the shores of the " Adriatic, I wrote to the Directory, that I had " before my eyes the kingdom of Alexander!— " Still later I entered into engagements with Ali " Pacha; and when Corfu was taken from us, " they must have found there ammunition and a " complete equipment for an army of forty or fifty " thousand men. I had caused maps to be made " of Macedonia, Servia, Albania, &c.

" Greece, the Peloponnesus at least, must be " the lot of that European power, which shall pos- " sess Egypt. It should be ours.—And then, " an independent kingdom in the North, Con-

" stantinople with its provinces, to serve as a bar-
" rier to the power of Russia: as they have pre-
" tended to do with respect to France, by creating
" the Kingdom of Belgium."

Another of these evenings, the Emperor was holding forth against the caprice of women; " Nothing," said he, "more clearly indicates rank, " education, and good breeding among them, " than evenness of temper and the constant de-" sire to please." He added, that they were bound by circumstances to shew themselves at all times mistresses of themselves, and to be always attending to their part on the stage. His two wives, he observed, had always been so: they certainly differed greatly in their qualities and dispositions; but they always agreed in this point. Never had he witnessed ill-humour in either the one or the other; to please him had been the constant object with both of them, &c.

Some one ventured to observe, however, that Maria-Louisa had boasted, that whenever she desired any thing, no matter how difficult, she had only to weep. The Emperor laughed at it, and said, this was new to him. He might have suspected it of Josephine, but he had no idea of it in Maria-Louisa. And then, addressing himself to Mesdames Bertrand and Montholon: "Thus " it is with you all, ladies," said he: " in some " points you all agree."

He continued for a long time to talk about the

two Empresses, and repeated as usual, that one was Innocence, and the other the Graces. He passed from them to his sisters, and dwelt particularly on the charms of the Princess Pauline. It was admitted, that she was, without dispute, the handsomest woman in Paris. The Emperor said that the artists were unanimous in considering her a perfect Venus de Medicis. As they were proceeding to analyze her beauty with much elegance and grace, he suddenly asked if a Princess of the time . . . . . :

A little pleasantry was hazarded on the influence which the Princess Pauline had exercised, at the Island of Elba, over General Drouot, whose assiduous attentions she attracted in spite of the difference of their ages and the harshness of his countenance. The Princess, it was said, had drawn from him the secret of the intended departure, eight days before it took place. He had repeated the fault of Turenne; and upon this the Emperor said, "Such are women, and such is "their dangerous power!" Here Madame Bertrand declared that the Grand Marshal, to a certainty, had not done as much. "Madam," retorted the Emperor, with a smile, "he was only your hus- "band." Some one having remarked that the Princess Pauline, when at Nice, had set up a post-waggon on the road, by which dresses and fashions arrived from Paris every day, the Emperor said: "If I had been aware of it, that

" would not have lasted long, she would have " been well scolded. But thus it happens: while " one is Emperor one knows nothing of these " things."

After this conversation the Emperor enquired what was the day of the month: it was the 11th of March. " Well!" said he, " it is a year ago " to-day, it was a brilliant day; I was at Lyons, " I reviewed some troops, I had the Mayor to " dine with me, who, by the way, has boasted " since, that it was the worst dinner he ever " made in his life." The Emperor became animated; he paced the chamber quickly. " I was " again become a great power," he continued; and a sigh escaped him, which he immediately checked with these words, in an accent and with a warmth which it is difficult to describe: " I " had founded the finest empire in the world, and " I was so necessary to it, that spite of all the " last reverses, here, upon my rock, I seem still " to remain the master of France. Look at what " is going on there, read the papers, you will " find it so in every line. Let me once more set " my foot there, they will see what France is, " and what I can do!" And then what ideas, what projects he developed for the glory and happiness of the country! He spoke for a long time, with so much interest and so unreservedly, that we could have forgotten time, place, and seasons. A part of what he said follows:—

"What a fatality," he said, "that my return "from the Island of Elba was not acquiesced in, "that every one did not perceive that my reign "was desirable and necessary for the balance and "repose of Europe! But kings and people both "feared me; they were wrong, and may pay "dearly for it. I returned a new man; they "could not believe it; they could not imagine "that a man might have sufficient strength of "mind to alter his character, or to bend to the "power of circumstances. I had, however, given "proofs of this, and some pledges to the same "effect. Who is ignorant that I am not a man "for half-measures? I would have been as sin- "cerely the monarch of the constitution and of "peace, as I had been of absolute sway and great "enterprizes.

"Let us reason a little upon the fears of kings "and people on my account. What could the "kings apprehend? Did they still dread my am- "bition, my conquests, my universal monarchy? "But my power and my resources were no longer "the same; and, besides, I had only defeated and "conquered in my own defence: this is a truth "which time will more fully develope every day. "Europe never ceased to make war upon France, "her principles, and me; and we were com- "pelled to destroy, to save ourselves from de- "struction. The coalition always existed openly "or secretly, avowed or denied; it was per-

" manent; it only rested with the Allies to give " us peace; for ourselves, we were worn out: " the French dreaded making new conquests. " As to myself, is it supposed that I am in- " sensible to the charms of repose and security, " when glory and honour do not require it other- " wise? With our two Chambers, they might " have forbidden me in future to pass the Rhine; " and why should I have wished it? For my " universal monarchy? But I never gave any " convincing proof of insanity; and what is its " chief characteristic, but a disproportion be- " tween our object and the means of attaining it. " If I have been on the point of accomplishing " this universal monarchy, it was without any " original design, and because I was led on to it " step by step. The last efforts wanting to arrive " at it seemed so trifling, was it very unreason- " able to attempt them? But on my return from " Elba, could a similar idea, a thought so mad, " a purpose so unattainable, enter the head of the " most rash man in the world? The Sove- " reigns, then, had nothing to fear from my " arms.

" Did they apprehend that I might overwhelm " them with anarchical principles? But they " knew by experience my opinions on that score. " They have all seen me occupy their territories: " how often have I been urged to revolutionize " their states, give municipal functions to their

" cities, and excite insurrection among their sub-
" jects. However I may have been stigmatized,
" in their names, as *the modern Attila, Robespierre*
" *on horseback*, &c. they all know better at the
" bottom of their hearts—let them look there!
" Had I been so, I might, perhaps, still have
" reigned; but they most certainly would have
" long since ceased to reign. In the great cause
" of which I saw myself the chief and the arbi-
" trator, one of two systems was to be followed:
" to make kings listen to reason from the people;
" or to conduct the people to happiness by means
" of their kings. But it is well known to be no
" easy matter to check the people when they are
" once set on: it was more rational to reckon a
" little upon the wisdom and intelligence of
" rulers. I had a right always to suppose them
" possessed of sufficient intellect to see such ob-
" vious interests: I was deceived; they never cal-
" culated at all, and, in their blind fury, they let
" loose against me that which I withheld when
" opposed to them. They will see!!

" Lastly, did the sovereigns take umbrage at
" seeing a mere soldier attain a crown? Did they
" fear the example? The solemnities, the circum-
" stances that accompanied my elevation, my
" eagerness to conform to their habits, to identify
" myself with their existence, to become allied
" to them by blood and by policy, closed the door
" sufficiently against new comers. Besides, if

" there must needs have been the spectacle of an " interrupted legitimacy, I maintain that it was " much more to their interest that it should take " place in my person, one risen from the ranks, " than in that of a prince, one of their own fa- " mily: for thousands of ages will elapse before " the circumstances accumulated in my case draw " forth another from among the crowd to re- " produce the same spectacle; while there is not " a sovereign who has not at a few paces distance " in his palace, cousins, nephews, brothers, and " relations to whom it would be easy to follow " such an example if once set.

" On the other side, what was there to alarm " the people? Did they fear that I should come " to lay waste and to impose chains on them?— " But I returned the Messiah of peace and of their " rights: this new maxim was my whole strength— " to violate it would have been ruin. But even " the French mistrusted me; they had the in- " sanity to discuss when there was nothing to do " but to fight; to divide when they should have " united on any terms. And was it not better " to run the risk of having me again for master, " than to expose themselves to that of submitting " to a foreign yoke? Would it not have been " easier to rid themselves of a single despot, of " one tyrant, than to shake off the chains of all " the nations united? And moreover, whence " did they derive this mistrust of me? Because

"they had already seen me concentrate every "effort in myself, and direct them with a vigo- "rous hand? But do they not learn at the pre- "sent day, to their cost, how necessary that was? "Well! the danger was in any case the same: "the contest terrible, and the crisis imminent. "In this state of things, was not absolute power "necessary, indispensable? The welfare of the "country obliged me even to declare it openly on "my return from Leipsic. I should have done "so again on my return from Elba. I was want- "ing in consistency, or rather in confidence in the "French, because many of them no longer placed "any in me, and it was doing me a great wrong. "If narrow and vulgar minds only saw, in all my "efforts, the care of my own power, ought not "those of greater scope to have shewn, that un- "der the circumstances in which we were placed, "my power and the country were but one? "Did it require such great and incurable mischiefs "to enable them to comprehend me? History will "do me more justice: it will signalize me as the "man of self-denials and disinterestedness. To "what temptations was I not exposed in the "army of Italy? England offered me the Crown "of France at the time of the treaty of Amiens.— "I refused peace at Châtillon: I disdained all "personal stipulations at Waterloo;—and why? "Because all this had no reference to my coun- "try, and I had no ambition distinct from her's—

" that of her glory, her ascendancy, her majesty.
" And there is the reason that, in spite of so many
" calamities, I remain so popular among the
" French. It is a sort of instinct of after-justice
" on their part.

" Who in the world ever had greater treasures
" at his disposal ? I have had many hundred mil-
" lions in my vaults ; many other hundreds com-
" posed my *domaine de l'extraordinaire:* all these
" were my own. What is become of them ?—
" They were poured out in the distresses of the
" country. Let them contemplate me here ; I
" remain destitute upon my rock. My fortune
" was wholly in that of France. In the extra-
" ordinary situation to which fate had raised me,
" my treasures were her's: I had identified my-
" self completely with her destinies. What other
" calculation was consistent with the height I had
" risen to ? Was I ever seen occupied about my
" personal interests ? I never knew any other
" enjoyment, any other riches, than those of the
" public ;—so much so, that when Josephine, who
" had a taste for the Arts, succeeded under the
" sanction of my name in acquiring some master-
" pieces, though they were in my palace, under
" my eyes, in my family apartments, they
" offended me, I thought myself robbed: *they
" were not in the Museum.*

" Ah ! the French people undoubtedly did much
" for me! more than was ever done before for

" man ! But, at the same time, who ever did so " much for them ? who ever identified himself with " them in the same manner ? But to return.— " After all, what could be their fears ? Were not " the Chambers and the new Constitution suffi- " cient guarantees for the future ? Those addi- " tional Acts, against which so much indignation " was expressed, did they not carry in themselves " their own corrective—remedies that were in- " fallible ? How could I have violated them ? I " had not myself millions of arms ; I was but a " man. Public opinion raised me up once more ; " public opinion might equally put me down " again ; and, compared with this risk, what had " I to gain ?

" But as to surrounding States (I speak particu- " larly as regards England), what could be her " fears, her motives, her jealousies ? We inquire " in vain. With our new Constitution, our two " Chambers, had we not adopted her creed for " the future ? Was not that the sure means of " coming to a mutual understanding, to establish " in future a community of interest ? The ca- " price, the passions of their rulers, once fettered, " the interests of the people move on, without " obstacle, in their natural course : look at the " merchants of hostile nations ; they continue " their intercourse, and pursue their business, " however their governments may wage war. " The two nations had arrived at that point.— " Thanks to their respective parliaments, each

" was become the guarantee for the other: and " who can ever tell to what extent the union of " the two nations and of their interests might be " carried; what new combinations might be set " at work? It is certain that, on the establish- " ment of our two Chambers and our Constitu- " tion, the Ministers of England had in their " hands the glory and prosperity of their coun- " try, the destinies and the welfare of the world. " Had I beaten the English army and won my " last battle, I would have caused a great and " happy astonishment; the following day I would " have proposed peace, and, for once, it would " have been I who scattered benefits with a pro- " digal hand. Instead of this, perhaps, the Eng- " lish will one day have to lament that they were " victorious at Waterloo!

" I repeat it, the people and the sovereigns " were wrong: I had restored thrones and an in- " offensive nobility; and thrones and nobility " may again find themselves in danger. I had " fixed and consecrated the reasonable limits of " the people's rights; vague, peremptory, and " undefined claims may again arise.

" Had my return, my establishment on the " throne, my adoption, been freely acquiesced " in by the sovereigns, the cause of kings and the " people would have been settled; both would " have gained. Now they are again to try it; " both may lose. They might have concluded

" every thing; they may have every thing to be-
" gin again: they might have secured a long
" and certain calm, and already begun to enjoy
" it; and, instead of that, a spark may now be
" sufficient to reproduce an universal conflagra-
" tion! Poor, weak humanity!"

Attached, as I am, to the words and the opinions which I gathered from Napoleon on his rock of exile, and however perfectly persuaded and convinced of their entire sincerity, I do not the less experience an extreme gratification, whenever a testimony from another quarter confirms the truth of them; and I am bound to say, that I have that gratification, as often as opportunity occurs of obtaining other evidence.

The reader has just perused the foregoing remarkable passage, in which Napoleon expresses his ideas, his intentions, his sentiments. What a value do not these expressions collected at Saint-Helena acquire, when we find them reechoed in Europe, at the distance of 2000 leagues, by a celebrated writer, who, with a shade of difference in his opinions, and at a very different time, had himself received them from the same lips! What a fortunate circumstance for history! I cannot, indeed, forbear bringing forward here this extract of M. Benjamin Constant, as well on account of the intrinsic merit of the expressions, as from the weight they acquire from the distinguished writer who records them;

and also from the pleasure I feel in seeing them coincide so exactly with what I have collected myself in another hemisphere. There are the same intentions, the same depth of thought, the same sentiments.

"I went to the Tuileries," says M. Benjamin Constant in his account; "I found Bonaparte "alone. He began the conversation: it was "long: I will only give an analysis of it; for I "do not propose to make an exhibition of an "unfortunate man. I will not amuse my readers "at the expense of fallen greatness; I will not "give up to malevolent curiosity him whom "I have served, whatever might be my motive; "and I will not transcribe more of his discourse "than is indispensable; but in what I shall "transcribe, I will use his own words.

"He did not attempt to deceive me either as "to his views, or the state of affairs. He did not "present himself as one corrected by the lessons "of adversity: he did not desire to take the "merit of returning to liberty from inclination: "he investigated coolly as regarded his interest, "and with an impartiality too nearly allied to "indifference, what was possible and what was "preferable.

'The nation,' said he, 'has rested for twelve 'years from all political agitation, and for a year 'it has been undisturbed by war: this double 'repose has begotten a necessity for motion. It

'desires, or fancies it desires, a public rostrum 'and assemblies; it has not always desired them. 'It cast itself at my feet when I came to the go- 'vernment; you must remember, you who made 'trial of its opinion. Where was your support, 'your power? No where. I took less authority 'than I was invited to take.—Now all is changed. 'A weak government, opposed to the interests of 'the nation, has given these interests the habit of 'taking up the defensive, and of cavilling at au- 'thority. The taste for constitutions, debates, 'harangues, seems to return. . . . However, it is 'only the minority that desires it, do not deceive 'yourself. The people, or if you like it better, 'the mob, desire me alone: you have not seen 'them, this mob, crowding after me, rushing 'from the tops of the mountains, calling me, 'seeking me, saluting me.* On my return here

* *Note by M. B. C.*—Bonaparte attached a high value to the proofs that his return was not effected by military manœuvres. I am sorry that I have not by me six pages which he had written or dictated on this subject, and which he had carefully corrected. He put them into my hands at the time of the communication referred to here. He desired I would reply to Lord Castlereagh, who, in a speech in parliament, had attributed all his success to the army.

Not choosing to write at all, till I had ascertained that it was not a despot that I was restoring to France, I declined this task; and, in 1815, I entrusted the sketch which Napoleon had given me to one of my friends, who set out for England, from

'from Cannes, I did not conquer—I administered. '. . . . I am not only, as it has been said, the Em- 'peror of the soldiers; I am that of the peasants, 'the lower ranks in France. . . . Thus, in spite of 'all that is past, you see the people return to me '—there is a sympathy between us. It is not so 'with the privileged classes; the nobility have 'served me, have rushed in crowds into my ante- 'chambers; there are no offices that they have 'not accepted, solicited, pressed for. I have 'had my *Montmorencies*, my *Noailles*, my *Ro- 'hans*, my *Beauveaus*, my *Mortemarts*. But 'there was no analogy between us. The steed 'curvetted, he was well trained, but I perceived 'that he fretted. With the people it is ano- 'ther thing; the popular fibre responds to mine: 'I am come from the ranks of the people, 'my voice has influence over them. Observe 'these conscripts, these sons of peasants, I did 'not flatter them, I treated them with severity; 'they did not the less surround me, they did not 'the less shout '*the Emperor for ever!*' It is be- 'cause between them and me there is an iden- 'tity of nature; they look to me as their sup- 'port, their defender against the nobles. . . I have

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whence I have hitherto neglected to get it back again. It was written with much warmth; it contained expressions singular but powerful, a great rapidity of thought, and some strokes of real eloquence.

'but to make a sign, or rather to turn away my 'eyes, and the nobles will be massacred in all the 'departments. They have carried on such fine 'intrigues for these six months!..... But I will 'not be the king of a *Jacquerie*. If there are any 'means of governing with a Constitution, well 'and good..... I desired the empire of the 'world; and, to insure it, unlimited power was 'necessary to me. To govern France only, a 'Constitution may be better..... I desired the 'empire of the world, and who in my situation 'would not? The world invited me to govern 'it; sovereigns and subjects vied with each other 'in hastening beneath my sceptre. I have rarely 'found any opposition in France; but I have, 'however, met with more from some obscure 'unarmed Frenchmen, than from all these kings, 'so vain at present of no longer having a po- 'pular man for their equal..... Consider, then, 'what seems to you to be possible. Give me 'your ideas. Free elections, public discussions, 'responsible ministers, liberty, all this is my 'wish..... The liberty of the press in particu- 'lar: to stifle it is absurd—I am satisfied upon 'this point..... I am the man of the people, 'if the people sincerely wish for liberty: I owe 'it them. I have recognized their sovereignty; I 'am bound to lend an ear to their desires, even 'to their caprices. I never desired to oppress 'them for my own gratification. I had great

'designs, fate has decided them; I am no longer 'a conqueror, I can no more become so. I know 'what is possible and what is not; I have now 'but one charge: to relieve France, and give her 'a government suited to her..... I am not inimi-'cal to liberty: I set it aside when it obstructed 'my road; but I comprehend it, I have been 'educated in its principles..... At the same 'time, the work of fifteen years is destroyed; it 'cannot begin again. It would require twenty 'years, and the sacrifice of two millions of men. '.... Besides, I am desirous of peace, and I 'shall obtain it only by dint of victories. I will 'not hold out false hopes to you; I abstain from 'telling you there are negociations in train; 'there are none. I foresee a difficult contest, a 'long war. To maintain it, the nation must sup-'port me; but, in return, she will require liberty; 'she shall have it..... The situation is new. I 'desire no better than to receive information; 'I grow old; one is no longer at forty-five 'what one was at thirty. The repose of a con-'stitutional monarch may be well suited to me. 'It will assuredly be still more suitable to my 'son.'"—*(Minerve Français, 94e liv. tome VIII. 2d Letter on the Hundred Days. By M. B. Constant.*

13th.—The Emperor sent instructions to the Grand Marshal to write to the Admiral to know if a letter which he, Napoleon, should write to the Prince Regent would be sent to him. Towards four o'clock, the Deputy Governor Skel-

ton and his lady desired to pay their respects to the Emperor. He received them, took them to walk in the garden, and afterwards out with him in his carriage. The weather had been extremely foggy all day. Upon its clearing up for a short time we saw, on as udden, a corvette or frigate very near, and coming in with all sails set.

Insult to the Emperor and the Prince of Wales.—Execution of Ney.—Escape of Lavalette.

14th—15th. We received the Admiral's answer. After beginning, according to his established form, by saying that he knew no person by the title of 'Emperor' at Saint-Helena, he stated, that he would undoubtedly send the Emperor's letter to the Prince Regent; but that he should adhere to the letter of his instructions, which directed him not to allow any paper to be dispatched to England, without having first opened it.

This communication, it must be acknowledged, gave us great astonishment: the part of the instructions cited by the Admiral had two objects in view, both of them foreign to the interpretation put upon them by this officer.

The first was, in the case of our making any complaints, that the local authorities might join their observations, and that the government, in England, might do us justice more speedily, without being obliged to send again to the island for farther information. This precaution, then, was entirely for our interest. The second object

of this measure was, that our correspondence might not be prejudicial to the interests of the government, or the policy of England. But we were writing to the Sovereign, to the chief, to the individual in whom these interests, and this government centred; and if there was any conspiracy here, it was not on the part of us, who were writing to him, but rather on his, who intercepted our letter, or resolved to violate the privacy of it. That they should establish jailers about us, with all their equipage, though we did not consider it just, still it seemed possible. But that these jailors should cause their functions to re-act, even upon their Sovereign, was a thing for which we could not find a name! It was to attach to him completely the idea of a King without faculties, or of a Sultan buried in the recesses of his Seraglio! It was really a monstrous phenomenon in our European manners!

For a long time, we had little or no intercourse with the Admiral. One thought that ill-humour had perhaps dictated his answer; another supposed that he was fearful the letter might contain some complaints against him. But the Admiral knew the Emperor too well, not to be aware that he would never appeal to any other tribunal, than to that of nations. I, who knew what would have been the subject of the letter, felt the most lively indignation at it! The sole intention of the Emperor had been to employ this method, the

only one that seemed compatible with his dignity, to write to his wife, and obtain tidings of his son. However, the Grand Marshal replied to the Admiral, that he either over-stepped, or misinterpreted his instructions; that his determination could only be regarded as another instance of flagrant vexation; that the condition imposed, was too much beneath the dignity of the Emperor, as well as of the Prince of Wales, for him to retain any intention of writing.

The frigate that had just arrived was the Spy, bringing the European papers to the 31st December: they contained the execution of the unfortunate Marshal Ney, and the escape of Lavalette.

"Ney," said the Emperor, "as ill attacked, as "he was ill defended, had been condemned by "the Chamber of Peers, in the teeth of a formal "capitulation. His execution had been allowed "to take place; that was another error—from that "moment he became a martyr. That Labé-"doyère should not have been pardoned, because "the clemency extended to him would have "seemed only a predilection in favour of the old "Aristocracy, might be conceived; but the par-"don of Ney would only have been a proof of the "strength of the government, and the moderation "of the Prince. It will be said, perhaps, that "an example was necessary? But the Marshal "would become so, much more certainly, by a

" pardon after being degraded by a sentence: it " was to him, in fact, a moral death that de- " prived him of all influence; and nevertheless " the object of authority would be obtained, the " Sovereign satisfied, the example complete. " The refusal of pardon to Lavalette, and his " escape, were new subjects of animadversion " equally unpopular.

" But the saloons in Paris," he observed, " ex- " hibited the same passions as the clubs; the " nobility were a new version of the Jacobins. " Europe, moreover, was in a state of complete " anarchy; the code of political immorality was " openly followed; whatever fell under the hands " of the Sovereigns was turned to the advantage of " each of them. At least, in my time I was the " butt of all the accusations of this kind. The " Sovereigns then talked of nothing but principles " and virtue; but now," added he, " that they " were victorious and without control, they prac- " tised unblushingly all the wrongs which they " themselves then reprobated. What resource " and what hope were there then left for nations " and for morality? Our countrywomen at least," he observed, " rendered their sentiments conspi- " cuous: Madame Labédoyère was on the point " of dying from grief; these papers shewed us " that Madame Ney exhibited the most coura- " geous and determined devotion. Madame La- " valette was become the heroine of Europe," &c.

Message for the Prince Regent.

16.—The Emperor had quitted the Encyclopedia Britannica, to take his lessons in English, in the *Annual Register*. He read there the adventure of a Mr. Spencer Smith, arrested at Venice, ordered to be sent to Valenciennes, and who made his escape on the road. This must be a very simple affair, said the Emperor, which the narrator has converted into a statement of importance. The circumstance was totally unknown to him: it was a detail of police of too little consequence, he observed, to have found its way up to him.

About four o'clock the captain of the Spy arrived from Europe, and the captain of the Ceylon about to sail for England, were presented to the Emperor. He was in low spirits—he was unwell: the audience of the first was very short; that of the second would have been the same, had he not roused the Emperor by asking if we had any letters to send to Europe. The Emperor then desired me to ask him if he should see the Prince Regent; on his answering in the affirmative, I was charged to inform him that the Emperor was desirous of writing to the Prince Regent, but that in consequence of the observation of the Admiral, that he would open the letter, he had abstained from it, as being inconsistent with his

dignity, and with that of the Prince Regent himself. That he had, indeed, heard the laws of England much boasted of, but that he could not discover their benefits any where; that he had only now to expect, indeed to desire, an executioner; that the torture they made him endure was inhuman, savage; that it would have been more open and energetic to put him to death. The Emperor made me request of the captain that he would take upon him to deliver these words, and dismissed him. he looked very red and was much embarrassed.

Spirit of the Inhabitants of the Isle of France.

17th.—An English Colonel, arrived from the Cape on his return from the Isle of France, came in the morning and addressed himself to me, to try to get an introduction to the Emperor. The Admiral had only allowed his vessel to remain two or three hours in the road. Having prevailed on the Emperor to receive him at four o'clock, he assured me that he would rather miss his vessel than lose such an opportunity. The Emperor was not very well, he had passed several hours in his bath; at four he received the Colonel.

The Emperor put many questions to him concerning the Isle of France, lately ceded to the English: it seems that its prosperity and its commerce suffer from its change of sovereignty.

After the departure of the Colonel, being alone with the Emperor in the garden, I told him that his person seemed to have remained very dear to the inhabitants of the Isle of France; that the Colonel had informed me that the name of Napoleon was never pronounced there but with commiseration. It was precisely on the day of a great festival in the colony, that they learned his departure from France and his arrival at Plymouth; the theatre was to be universally attractive; the news having arrived during the day, in the evening there was not a single colonist, either white or of colour, in the house: there were only some English, who were exceedingly confused and irritated at the circumstance. The Emperor listened to me. "It is quite plain," said he, after some moments of silence; "this "proves that the inhabitants of the Isle of France "have continued French. I am the country; they "love it: it has been wounded in my person, "they are grieved at it." I added that the change of dominion restraining their expressions, they did not dare propose his health publicly; but that the Colonel said they never neglected it notwithstanding; they drank to *him*, this word was become consecrated to Napoleon. These details touched him. "Poor Frenchmen!" he said with expression—"Poor People! Poor Nation! I "deserved all that, I loved thee! But thou, "thou surely didst not deserve all the ills that

" press upon thee! Ah! thou didst merit well " that one should devote himself to thee! But, " it must be confessed, what infamy, what " baseness, what degradation I had about me!" And addressing himself to me, he added: " I " do not speak here of your friends of the Faux-" bourg Saint-Germain; for with respect to them " it is another matter."

There frequently reached us incidents and expressions which, like those from the Isle of France, were calculated to excite emotion in the heart. The Island of Ascension, in our neighbourhood, had always been desert and abandoned; since we have been here, the English have thought proper to form an establishment there. The Captain who went to take possession of it told us on his return, that he was much astonished on landing to find upon the beach, *May the great Napoleon live for ever!*

In the last papers that reached us, among many good-natured sallies and *jeux de mots*, it was remarked, in several languages, that *Paris* would never be happy till his *Helena* should be restored to him: these were a few drops of honey in our cup of wormwood.

His intentions respecting Rome.—Horrible food.—Britannicus.

18th—19th. The Emperor was on horseback by eight o'clock. He had abstained from it for a long time: want of space to ride over was the

cause. His health suffers visibly in consequence, and it is astonishing that the want of exercise is not still more hurtful to him, who was in the daily habit of taking it to a violent degree. On our return, the Emperor breakfasted out of doors; he detained us all. After breakfast, the conversation fell on Herculaneum and Pompeii; the phenomenon and epoch of their destruction, the time and the accident of their modern discovery, the monuments and the curiosities they have since afforded us. The Emperor said, that if Rome had remained under his dominion, she would have risen again from her ruins: he intended to have cleared away all the rubbish; to have restored as much as possible, &c. He did not doubt that the same spirit extending through all the vicinity, it might have been in some degree the same with Herculaneum and Pompeii.

Breakfast being concluded, the Emperor sent my son to bring the volume of Crevier which contains this event; and he read it to us, as well as the death and character of Pliny. He retired about noon to take some rest. Towards six o'clock we took our usual round in the carriage. The Emperor took with him Mr. and Mrs. Skelton, who were come to visit him.

On our return, the Emperor, banished from the garden on account of the damp, went to see General Gourgaud, who was recovering rapidly. After dinner, on leaving the table and returning

to the drawing-room, we could not help reverting to the meal we had just made;—literally nothing was fit to eat: the bread bad, the wine not drinkable, the meat disgusting and unwholesome; we are frequently obliged to send it back again; they continue, in spite of our remonstrances, to send it us dead, because by that method they can put upon us such animals as have died naturally.

The Emperor, shocked at this description, could not refrain from saying, with warmth: "No "doubt there are some individuals whose physical "situation is still worse; but that circumstance "does not deprive us of the right of giving an "opinion on our own condition, or on the infa- "mous manner in which we are treated. The "injustice of the English government has not "been contented with sending us hither, it has "selected the individuals to whom our persons "and our supplies are intrusted! For my part, I "should suffer less, if I were sure that it would "one day be divulged to the whole world in such "a way as to brand with infamy those who are "guilty of it. But let us talk of something else," said he—"what is the day of the month?" He was told it was the 19th of March: "What!" he exclaimed, "the eve of the 20th of March!" And a few seconds afterwards: "But let us talk "of something else." He sent for a volume of Racine, and at first began to read the comedy of the *Plaideurs;* but after a scene or two, he turned

to *Britannicus*, which he read to us. When the reading was concluded, and the due tribute of admiration had been paid, he said that Racine was censured for making the *denouement* of this piece too sudden, that the poisoning of Britannicus was not expected so early in the play as it ought to have been. He praised the truth of the character of Narcissus highly, observing, that it was always by wounding the self-love of princes that their determinations were most influenced.

20th of March.—The Accouchement of the Empress.

20th.—After dinner one of us observed to the Emperor, that he had been less solitary, less quiet that day twelvemonth at the same hour. "I was sitting down to table at the Tuileries," said the Emperor. "I had found it difficult to "get there: the dangers I went through in that "attempt were at least equal to those of a bat-"tle." In fact he had been seized upon, on his arrival, by thousands of officers and citizens; one party had snatched him from another; he had been carried to the palace, and amidst a tumult like that of a mob about to tear a man to pieces, instead of the orderly and respectful attendance of a multitude intent on shewing their veneration for an individual. But we ought to look at the sentiment and intention in this case: it was enthusiasm and love carried to a pitch that resembled delirious rage.

The Emperor added, that in all probability more than one person in Europe would talk of him that evening; and that, in spite of all observation, many a bottle would be emptied in his cause.

The conversation then turned on the King of Rome; that day was the anniversary of his birth; the Emperor reckoned that he must be five years old. He then spoke of the accouchement of the Empress, and seemed to take some pleasure in boasting that he had proved himself, on that occasion, as good a husband as any in the world: he assisted the Empress to walk about all night; we, who were of the household knew something of the matter; we had all been called together at the palace at ten in the evening; we passed the night there; and the cries of the Empress sometimes reached our ears. Towards morning the accoucheur having told the Emperor that the pains had ceased, and that the labour might yet be tedious, the Emperor went into a bath, and sent us away, desiring us, however, not to go from home. The Emperor had not been long in the bath, when the pains came on again, and the accoucheur ran to him, almost out of his wits, saying he was the most unfortunate of men; that out of a thousand labours in Paris there was not one more difficult. The Emperor, dressing himself again as fast as he could, encouraged him, saying that a man who understood his business ought never to lose his presence of mind; that

there was nothing in this case that he ought to be uneasy about; that he had only to fancy he was delivering a citizen's wife of the Rue Saint-Denis; that nature had but one law; that he was sure he would act for the best; and, above all, that he need not fear any reproach. It was then represented to the Emperor that there was great danger either for the mother or the child. "If the "mother live," said he, without hesitation, "I "shall have another child. Act in this case as if "you were attending the birth of a cobbler's "son."

When he reached the Empress, she really was in danger; the child presented itself in an unfavourable posture, and there was every reason to fear it would be stifled.*

The Emperor asked Dubois why he did not deliver her. He excused himself, being unwilling to do it, he said, except in the presence of Corsivart, who had not yet arrived, "But what

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* This event took place in presence of twenty-two persons:

The Emperor.

Dubois, Corvisart, Bourdier and Ivan.

Madames de Montebello, de Lucay, and de Montesquiou.

The six first ladies: Ballant, Deschamps, Durant, Hureau, Nabusson, and Gerard.

Five ladies of the bed-chamber. Mademoiselles Honoré, Edouard, Barbier, Aubert, and Geoffroy.

The Keeper; Madame Blaise, and two maids of the wardrobe.

" can he tell you?" said the Emperor. " If it is " a witness, or a justification you want to secure, " here am I." Then Dubois, taking off his coat, commenced the operation. When the Empress saw the instruments, she cried out in a piteous manner, exclaiming that they were going to kill her. She was strongly held by the Emperor, Madame de Montesquiou, Corvisart, who had just come in, &c. Madame de Montesquiou dexterously took an opportunity to encourage her, by declaring that she herself had more than once been in the same situation.

The Empress, however, still persuaded herself that she was treated differently from other women, and often repeated, " Am I to be sacrificed be- " cause I am an Empress!" She declared, afterwards, to the Emperor, that she really had entertained this fear. At length she was delivered. The danger had been so imminent, said the Emperor, that all the etiquette which had been studied and ordered was disregarded, and the child put on one side, on the floor, whilst every one was occupied about the mother only. The infant remained some moments in this situation: it was Corvisart who took him up, chafed him, and brought him to utter a cry, &c.

Catiline's Conspiracy.—The Gracchi.—Historians.—Sleep during a battle.—Cæsar and his Commentaries.—Of different Military Systems.

21st—22d. The Emperor rode out very early: we made the tour of our limits in several directions. It is during these rides that the Emperor now takes his lessons in English. I walk by his side; he speaks a few sentences in English, which I translate, word by word, as he pronounces them; by which method he perceives when he is understood, or is enabled to correct his mistakes. When he has finished a sentence, I repeat it to him in English, so that he may understand it well himself; this helps to form his ear.

The Emperor was reading to-day, in the Roman History, of Catiline's conspiracy; he could not comprehend it in the way in which it is described. "However great a villain Catiline "might be," observed he, "he must have had "some object in view: it could not be that of "governing in Rome, since he is accused of "having intended to set fire to the four quarters "of the city." The Emperor conceived it to be much more probable that it was some new faction similar to those of Marius and Sylla, which having failed, all the accusations calculated to excite the horror of patriots, were, as usual in such cases, heaped on the head of its leader. It was

then observed to the Emperor, that the same thing would infallibly have happened to himself, had he been overpowered in Vendemiaire, Fructidor, or Brumaire, before he had illumined with such radiant brilliancy an horizon cleared of clouds.

The Gracchi gave rise to doubts and suspicions of a very different sort in his mind, which, he said, became almost certainties to those who had been engaged in the politics of our times. "History," said he, "presents these Gracchi, in the "aggregate, as seditious people, revolutionists, "criminals; and, nevertheless, allows it to ap- "pear in detail, that they had virtues; that they "were gentle, disinterested, moral men; and, "besides, they were the sons of the illustrious "Cornelia, which, to great minds, ought to be a "strong primary presumption in their favour. "How then can such a contrast be accounted for? "It is thus: the Gracchi generously devoted "themselves for the rights of the oppressed "people, against a tyrannical senate; and their "great talents and noble character endangered a "ferocious aristocracy, which triumphed, mur- "dered, and calumniated them. The historians "of a party have transmitted their characters in "the same spirit. Under the Emperors it was "necessary to continue in the same manner; "the bare mention of the rights of the people, "under a despotic master, was a blasphemy, a

" downright crime. Afterwards the case was the " same under the feudal system, which was so " fruitful in petty despots. Such, no doubt, is " the fatality which has attended the memory of " the Gracchi. Throughout succeeding ages their " virtues have never ceased to be considered " crimes; but at this day, when, possessed of " better information, we have thought it ex- " pedient to reason, the Gracchi may and ought " to find favour in our eyes.

" In that terrible struggle between the aris- " tocracy and democracy, which has been renewed " in our times—in that exasperation of ancient " territory against modern industry, which still " ferments throughout Europe, there is no doubt " but that if the aristocracy should triumph by " force, it would point out many Gracchi in all " directions, and treat them in future as merci- " fully as its predecessors have done the Gracchi " of Rome."

The Emperor added, that it was, moreover, easy to see that there was an hiatus in the ancient authors at this period of history; that all which the moderns now presented to us on this subject was mere gleaning. He then reverted to the charges already made against honest Rollin and his pupil Crevier: they were both devoid of talent, system, or object. It was to be allowed that the ancients were far superior to us in this point; and that because, amongst them, the statesmen were lite-

rary men, and the men of letters statesmen; they accumulated professions, whilst we divide them absolutely. This famous division of labour, which in our times produces such a perfection in mechanical arts, is quite fatal to excellence in mental productions; every work of genius is superior in proportion to the universality of the mind whence it emanates. We owe to the Emperor the attempt to establish this principle by frequently employing men on various objects wholly unconnected with each other;—it was his system. He once appointed, of his own accord, one of his chamberlains to go into Illyria to liquidate the Austrian debt: this was a matter of importance, and extremely complicated. The chamberlain, who had previously been a total stranger to public business, was alarmed; and the minister, on hearing of this appointment, being dissatisfied with it, ventured to represent to the Emperor, that his nomination having fallen on a man entirely new to such matters, it might be feared that he would not acquit himself satisfactorily; "I have a lucky hand, Sir," was his answer; "those on whom I lay it are fit for every "thing."

The Emperor, proceeding in his criticism, also censured severely what he called historical fooleries, ridiculously exalted by translators and commentators. "Such things prove, in the first "place," said he, "that the historians formed erro-

neous judgments of men and circumstances. "For instance," said Napoleon, "when they ap-"plaud so highly the *continence of Scipio*, and fall "into ecstasies at the calmness of Alexander, "Cæsar, and others, for having been able to sleep "on the eve of a battle; even a monk, debarred "from women, whose face brightens up at the "very name—who neighs behind his barrier at "their approach, would not give Scipio much "credit for forbearing to violate the females "whom chance threw into his power, while he "had so many others entirely at his disposal. A "famished man might as well praise the hero for "having quietly passed by a table covered with "victuals, without greedily snatching at them." As to sleeping just before a battle, there was not, he assured us, one of our soldiers or generals who had not twenty times performed that miracle; their chief heroism lay in supporting the fatigue of watching the day before.

Here the Grand Marshal added, that he could safely say he had seen Napoleon sleep, not only on the eve of an engagement, but even during the battle. "I was obliged to do so," said Napoleon, "when I fought battles that lasted three "days; Nature was also to have her due: I took "advantage of the smallest intervals, and slept "where and when I could." He slept on the field of battle at Wagram, and at Bautzen, even during the action, and completely within

the range of the enemy's balls. On this subject, he said, that independently of the necessity of obeying nature, these slumbers afforded a general, commanding a very great army, the important advantage of enabling him to await, calmly, the relations and combinations of all his divisions, instead of, perhaps, being hurried away by the only event which he himself could witness.

The Emperor farther said, that he found in Rollin, and even Cæsar, circumstances of the Gallic war which he could not understand. He could not by any means comprehend the invasion of the Helvetii; the road they took; the object ascribed to them; the time they spent in crossing the Rhone; the diligence of Cæsar, who found time to go into Italy, as far as Aquileia, to seek the legions, and overtook the invaders before they had passed the Saone, &c. That it was equally difficult to comprehend what was meant by establishing winter-quarters that extended from Treves to Vannes. And when he also spoke of the immense works which the generals got performed by their soldiers, the ditches, walls, great towers, galleries, &c. the Emperor observed that in those times every exertion was directed to constructions on the spot, whereas in ours they were employed in conveyance. He also thought the ancient soldiers laboured, in fact, more than ours. He had thoughts of dictating something on that subject. "Ancient history, however," said he, "em-

" braces a long period, and the system of war " often changed. In our days it is no longer that " of the times of Turenne and Vauban: campaign " works were growing useless; even the system " of our fortresses had become problematical or " ineffectual; the enormous quantity of bombs " and howitzers changed every thing. It was no " longer against the horizontal attack that de- " fence was requisite, but also against the curve " and the reflected lines. None of the ancient " fortresses thenceforth afforded shelter; they " ceased to be tenable; no country was rich " enough to maintain them. The revenue of " France would be insufficient for her lines of " Flanders, for the exterior fortifications were now " not above a fourth or fifth of the necessary ex- " pense. Casemates, magazines, places of shel- " ter secure from the effects of bombs, were now "requisite, and were too expensive." The Emperor complained particularly of the weakness of modern masonry: the engineer department is radically defective in this point; it had cost him immense sums, wholly thrown away.

Struck with these novel truths, the Emperor had invented a system altogether at variance with the axioms hitherto established; it was to have metal of an extraordinary calibre, to advance beyond the principal line towards the enemy; and to have that principal line itself, on the contrary, defended by a great quantity of small moveable

artillery: hence the enemy would be stopped short in his sudden advance; he would have only weak pieces to attack powerful ones with; he would be commanded by this great calibre, round which the resources of the fortress, the small pieces, would form in groups, or even advance to a distance, as skirmishers, and might follow all the movements of the enemy by means of their lightness and mobility. The enemy would then stand in need of battering-cannon; he would be obliged to open trenches: time would be gained, and the true object of fortification accomplished. The Emperor employed this method with great success, and to the great astonishment of the engineers, in the defence of Vienna, and in that of Dresden; he wished to have employed it in that of Paris, which city could not, he thought, be defended by any other means; but of the success of this method he had no doubt.

Days at Longwood.—Trial of Drouot.—Military characters.—Soult.—Massena.—The Emperor's comrades in the artillery.—His name thought by him to be unknown to some people, even in Paris.

23d—26th. The weather was very unfavourable during the greater part of these mornings, on account of the heavy rains, which scarcely allowed us to stir out of doors. The Emperor read a work by a Miss Williams, on the return from the Isle of Elba; it had just reached us from England. He

was much disgusted with it, and with good reason: this production is quite calumnious and false; it is the echo and collection of all the reports invented at the time in certain malevolent Parisian societies.

As to our evenings, the weather was almost indifferent to us; whether it rained, or the moon shone brightly, we literally made ourselves prisoners. Towards nine o'clock we were surrounded by sentinels; to meet them would have been painful. It is true that both the Emperor and ourselves might have gone out at a later hour, accompanied by an officer; but this would have been rather a punishment than a pleasure to us, although the officer never could conceive this feeling. He gave us reason to conclude, at first, that he imagined this seclusion to be merely the effect of ill-humour, and thought it would not last long. I know not what he may subsequently have thought of our perseverance.

The Emperor, as I believe I have already mentioned, sat down to table pretty regularly at eight o'clock; he never remained there above half an hour; sometimes scarcely a quarter of an hour. When he returned to the drawing-room, if he happened to be unwell or taciturn, we had the greatest difficulty in the world to get on to half-past nine or ten o'clock; indeed, we could not effect it without the assistance of reading. But when he was cheerful, and entered into conver-

sation with spirit, we were presently surprised to find it eleven o'clock, and later: these were our pleasant evenings. He would then retire, with a kind of satisfaction, at having, as he expressed it, conquered time. And it was precisely on those days, when the remark applied with least force, that he used to observe that it must require our utmost courage to endure such a life.

One of these evenings, the conversation ran on the military trials, which are now instituting in France. The Emperor thought that General Drouot could not be condemned for coming in the suite of one acknowledged sovereign to make war upon another. Upon this it was remarked, that what was now mentioned as his justification, would be his greatest danger at the tribunal of legitimacy.

The Emperor acknowledged, in fact, that there was nothing to be said to the doctrines brought forward at this day: but, on the other hand, that in condemning General Drouot, they would condemn emigration, and legitimate the condemnation of the emigrants. Whosoever was found in arms against France, the Republican doctrines punished him with death; it was not so with the royal doctrine. If they should in this instance adopt the Republican doctrine, the emigrant and royal party would condemn themselves.

The case of Drouot, however, in a general point

of view, was very different even from that of Ney; and besides, Ney had evinced an unfortunate vacillation of which Drouot had never been guilty. Thus the interest which Ney had excited was wholly founded on opinion; whilst that which was felt for Drouot was personal.

The Emperor dilated on the dangers and difficulties which the tribunals and ministers of justice must experience, throughout the affairs connected with his return from the Isle of Elba. Above all, he was extremely struck by a particular circumstance relating to Soult, who, we were told, was to be brought to trial. He, Napoleon, knew, he said, how innocent Soult was; and yet, were it not for that circumstance, and were he an individual and juror in Soult's case, he had no doubt he should declare him guilty, so strongly were appearances combined against him. Ney, in the course of his defence, through some sentiment which it is difficult to account for, stated, contrary to the truth, that the Emperor had said Soult was in intelligence with him. Now, every circumstance of Soult's conduct during his administration, the confidence which the Emperor placed in him after his return, &c. agreed with that deposition: who, then, would not have condemned him? "Yet Soult is inno-" cent," said the Emperor, "he even acknow-" ledged to me that he had taken a real liking " to the King. The authority he enjoyed under

" him, he said, so different from that of my mi-
" nisters, was a very agreeable thing, and had
" quite gained him over."

Massena (whose proscription was also announced to us by the papers) was, the Emperor said, another person whom they would perhaps condemn as guilty of treason. All Marseilles was against him, appearances were overwhelming, and yet he had fulfilled his duty up to the very moment of declaring himself openly. On his return to Paris, he had even been far from claiming any credit with the Emperor, when the latter asked him whether he might have reckoned upon him. " The truth is," continued the Emperor, " that all the commanders did their duty;
" but they could not withstand the torrent of
" opinion, and no one had sufficiently calculated
" the sentiments of the mass of the people and
" the national impetuosity. Carnot, Fouché,
" Maret, and Cambacérès, confessed to me, at
" Paris, that they had been greatly deceived on
" this point. And no one understands it well,
" even now.

" Had the King remained longer in France," continued he, " he would probably have lost his
" life in some insurrection; but had he fallen
" into my hands, I should have thought myself
" strong enough to have allowed him every en-
" joyment in some retreat of his own selection;
" as Ferdinand was treated at Valency."

Immediately before this conversation, the Emperor was playing at chess, and his king having fallen, he cried out—"Ah! my poor king, you are "down!" Some one having picked it up, and restored it to him in a mutilated state—"Horrid!" he exclaimed; "I certainly do not accept the "omen, and I am far from wishing any such "thing: my enmity does not extend so far."

I would not, on any account, have omitted this circumstance, trifling as it may appear, because it is in many respects characteristic. We ourselves, when the Emperor had retired, reverted to the incident. What cheerfulness, what freedom of mind in such dreadful circumstances! we said. What serenity in the heart! what absence of malice, irritation, or hatred! Who could discover in him the man whom enmity and falsehood have depicted as such a monster? Even amongst his own followers, who is there that has well understood him, or taken sufficient pains to make him known?

Another evening, the Emperor was speaking of his early years when he was in the artillery, and of his companions at the mess: he always delighted in reverting to those days. One of his messmates was mentioned, who, having been Prefect of the same department under Napoleon and under the King, had not been able to retain his place on the return of Napoleon. The Emperor, when he recollected him, said that this person had,

at a certain period, missed the opportunity of making his fortune through him. When Napoleon obtained the command of the army of the Interior, he loaded this person with favours, made him his aide-de-camp, and intended to place great confidence in him; but this favoured aide-de-camp had behaved very ill to him at the time of his departure for the Army of Italy; he then abandoned his General for the Directory. "Nevertheless," said the Emperor, "when once I "was seated on the throne, he might have done "much with me, if he had known how to set "about it. He had the claim of early friendship, "which never loses its influence! I should certainly never have withstood an unexpected overture in a hunting-party, for instance, or half an "hour's conversation on old times at any other "opportunity. I should have forgotten his "conduct: it was no longer important whether "he had been on my side or not: I had united "all parties. Those who had an insight into my "character were well aware of this: they knew "that with me, however I might have felt disposed towards them, it was like the game of "prison-bars; when once the point was touched, "the game was won. In fact, if I wished to "withstand them, I had no resource but that of "refusing to see them."

He mentioned another old comrade, who, with wit and the requisite qualifications, might have

done any thing with him. He also said that a third would never have been removed from him, had he been less rapacious.

We disputed amongst ourselves whether these people ever suspected the secret, or their own chances; and whether the elevated station, and the Imperial splendour of Napoleon, would have allowed of their availing themselves of his favourable disposition towards them.

With respect to the splendour of the Imperial power, the Grand Marshal said, that however great and magnificent the Emperor had appeared to him on the throne, he had never made on him a superior, perhaps an equal impression, to that which his situation at the head of the Army of Italy had stamped on his memory. He explained and justified this idea very successfully, and the Emperor heard him with some complacency.—But, we observed, what great events took place afterwards! what elevation! what grandeur! what renown throughout the world! The Emperor had listened. "For all that," said he, "Paris "is so extensive, and contains so many people of "all sorts, and some so eccentric, that I can con-"ceive there may be some who never saw me, "and others who never even heard my name "mentioned. Do not you think so?" And it was curious to see with what whimsical ingenuity he himself maintained this assertion, which he knew to be untenable. We all insisted loudly,

that, as to his name, there was not a town or village in Europe, perhaps even in the world, where it had not been pronounced. One person in company added—"Sire, before I returned to France "at the treaty of Amiens, your Majesty being "then only FIRST Consul, I determined to make "a tour in Wales, as one of the most extraordinary "parts of Great Britain. I climbed the wildest "mountains, some of which are of prodigious "height: I visited cabins that seemed to me to "belong to another world. As I entered one of "these secluded dwellings, I observed to my "fellow-traveller, that, in this spot, one would "expect to find repose, and escape the din of re-"volution. The cottager, suspecting us to be "French, on account of our accent, immediately "enquired the news from France, and what "*Bonaparte*, the First Consul, was about."

"Sire," said another, "we had the curiosity "to ask the Chinese officers whether our Euro-"pean affairs had been heard of in their Empire. "'Certainly,' they replied; 'in a confused manner, "to be sure, because we are totally uninterested "in those matters; but the name of your Empe-"ror is famous there, and connected with grand "ideas of conquest and revolution:' exactly as "the names of those who have changed the face "of that part of the world have arrived in ours, "such as Gengis Khan, Tamerlane," &c.

Political examination of conscience.—Loyalty and prosperity of the Empire.—Liberal ideas of the Emperor on the indifference of parties.—Marmont.—Murat.—Berthier.

27th.—This day the Emperor was walking in the garden with the Grand Marshal and me. The conversation led us to make our political self-examination.

The Emperor said, he had been very warm and sincere at the commencement of the Revolution; that he had cooled by degrees, in proportion as he acquired more just and solid ideas. His patriotism had sunk under the political absurdities and monstrous domestic excesses of our legislatures. Finally, his republican faith had vanished on the violation of the choice of the people, by the Directory, at the time of the battle of Aboukir.

The Grand Marshal said, that for his part, he had never been a republican; but a very warm constitutional, until the 10th of August, the horrors of which day had cured him of all illusion. He had very nearly been massacred in defending the King at the Tuileries.

As for me, it was notorious that I had begun my career as a pure and most ardent royalist. "Why, then, it seems, gentlemen," said the Emperor, with vivacity, "that I am the only one "amongst us who has been a republican."—"And "something more, Sire," Bertrand and I both

replied.—" Yes," repeated the Emperor, " re-
" publican and patriot."—" And I have been a
" patriot, Sire," replied one of us, " notwith-
" standing my royalism; but what is still more
" extraordinary, I did not become so till the pe-
" riod of the Imperial reign."—" How! villain!
" —are you compelled to own that you did not
" always love your country?" — " Sire, we
" are making our political self-examination,
" are we not? I confess my sins. When I re-
" turned to Paris, by virtue of your amnesty,
" could I at first look upon myself as a French-
" man, when every law, every decree, every or-
" dinance that covered the walls, constantly
" added the most opprobrious epithets to my
" unlucky denomination of Emigrant. Nor did
" I think of remaining, when I first arrived. I
" had been attracted by curiosity, yielding to
" the invincible influence of one's native land,
" and the desire of breathing the air of one's
" country. I now possessed nothing there: I
" had been compelled, at the frontier, to swear
" to the relinquishment of my patrimony, to
" accede to the laws which decreed its loss; and
" I looked on myself as a mere traveller in that
" country once mine. I was a true foreigner, dis-
" contented, and even malevolent. The empire
" came; it was a great event. Now," said I, " my
" manners, prejudices, and principles triumph;
" the only difference is in the person of the sove-

" reign. When the campaign of Austerlitz open-
" ed, my heart, with surprise, found itself once
" more French. My situation was painful; I
" felt as if torn limb from limb; I was divided be-
" tween blind passion and national sentiment:
" the triumphs of the French army and their ge-
" neral displeased me; yet their defeat would
" have humbled me. At length, the prodigies of
" Ulm, and the splendour of Austerlitz, put an
" end to my embarrassment. I was vanquished
" by glory. I admired, I acknowledged, I loved
" Napoleon; and from that moment I became
" French to enthusiasm. Henceforth I have had
" no other thoughts, spoken no other language,
" felt no other sentiments; and here I am by your
" side."

The Emperor then asked innumerable questions relative to the Emigrants, their numbers, and disposition. I related many curious facts respecting our princes, the Duke of Brunswick, and the King of Prussia. I made him laugh at the extravagance of our presumption, our unbounded confidence of success, the disorder of our affairs, the incapability of our leaders. " Men," said I, " really were not at that time what they have since
" been. Fortunately, those with whom we had
" to contend were, at first, only our equals in
" strength. Above all, we thought, and repeated
" to one another, that an immense majority of the
" French nation was on our side; and, for my part,

" I firmly believed it. I soon had, however, an op-
" portunity of being undeceived; when our assem-
" blages having arrived at Verdun, and beyond it,
" not a single person came to join us; on the
" contrary, every one fled at our approach.
" Nevertheless I still believed it, even after my
" return from England; so greatly did we de-
" ceive ourselves afterwards with the absurdities
" we related to each other. We said, the govern-
" ment rested in a handful of people; that it was
" maintained by force alone; that it was detested
" by the nation; and there must be some who
" have never ceased to think so. I am per-
" suaded that amongst those who now talk in
" that manner in the Legislative Body, there
" are some who speak as they think; so per-
" fectly do I recognise the spirit, the ideas, and
" the expressions of Coblentz."—" But at what
" period were you undeceived?" said the Em-
peror.—" Very late, Sire. Even when I rallied,
" and came to your Court, I was led much
" more by admiration and sentiment, than by
" conviction of your strength and durability.
" However, when I came into your Council of
" State, seeing the freedom with which the most
" decisive decrees were voted, without a single
" thought of the slightest resistance; seeing
" around me nothing but conviction and entire
" persuasion, it then appeared to me, that your
" power, and the state of affairs, gained strength

" with a rapidity I could not account for. By " pondering on the cause of this change, I at " length made a great and important discovery; " namely, that matters had long stood thus, but " that I had neither known, nor been willing to " perceive it; I had hid my head in a bush, lest " the light should reach my eyes. Now that I " found myself forced into the midst of its bright- " ness, I was dazzled by it. From that moment, " all my prejudices fell to the ground; the film " was taken off my eyes.

" Being afterwards sent by your Majesty on a " mission, and having traversed more than sixty " departments, I employed the most scrupulous " attention, and the most perfect sincerity, in " ascertaining the truth of which I had so long " doubted. I interrogated the prefects, the in- " ferior authorities, I caused documents and re- " gisters to be produced to me; I questioned " private individuals without being known to " them, I employed all possible means of trying " the truth of my conclusions, and I remained " fully convinced that the government was com- " pletely national, and founded in the will of the " people; that France had, at no period of her " history, been more powerful, more flourishing, " better governed, or more happy; the roads had " never been better maintained; agriculture had " increased by a tenth, a ninth, perhaps an eighth

" in its productions.* A restlessness, a general " ardour animated all minds to exertion, and in- " spired them to aim at a daily personal improve- " ment. Indigo was gained; sugar would in- " evitably be so. Never, at any period, had in- " ternal commerce and industry of every species, " been carried to such a pitch; instead of four " millions of livres in cotton, which were used at " the Revolution, more than thirty millions were " now manufactured, although we could obtain " none by sea, and received it over land from the " distance of Constantinople. Rouen was be- " come quite a prodigy in production. The " taxes were everywhere paid; the Conscription " was nationalized; France, instead of being " exhausted, contained a more numerous popu- " lation than before, and was daily increasing.

" When I again appeared amongst my former " acquaintance with these data, there was an " absolute insurrection against me. They laugh- " ed in my face, and almost hooted me. Yet " there were some sensible people amongst them, " and I now possessed strong grounds of argu- " ment; I staggered many, and convinced a few: " thus, I too have had my victories."

The Emperor said, it must be agreed that our

* It is a singular fact, that the person from whom I had this information on agriculture, in Languedoc, was the identical M. de Villèle, who has since become celebrated.

being assembled at Saint-Helena from political causes was certainly a most extraordinary circumstance: that we had come to a common centre by roads originally in very different directions. However, we had travelled through them with sincerity. Nothing more clearly proved the sort of chance, the uncertainty, and the fatality which usually, in the labyrinth of revolutions, direct upright and honest hearts.

Nor can any thing more clearly prove, continued he, how necessary indulgence and intelligent views are to recompose society after long disorders. It was these dispositions and these principles which had made him, he said, the most fit man for the circumstances of the month of *Brumaire;* and it was those which still rendered him without doubt the fittest in the actual state of France. On this point, he had neither mistrust, nor prejudice, nor passion; he had constantly employed men of all classes, of all parties, without ever looking back, without enquiring what they had done, what they had said, what they had thought, only requiring, he said, that they should pursue in future and with sincerity the common object: the welfare and the glory of all; that they should shew themselves true and good Frenchmen. Above all, he had never made overtures to leaders in order to gain over parties; but on the contrary, he had attacked the mass of the parties, that he might be in a situation to despise

their leaders. Such had ever been the uniform system of his internal policy; and in spite of the last events, he was far from repenting it; if he had to begin again he should pursue the same course. "It is totally without reason," he said, "that I have been reproached with employing "nobles and emigrants—a perfectly trite and "vulgar imputation! The fact is that under me "there only existed individual opinions and sen- "ments. It is not the nobles and the emigrants "who have brought about the restoration, but "rather the restoration that has again raised the "nobles and the emigrants. They have not "contributed more particularly to our ruin than "others: those really in fault are the intri- "guers of all parties and all opinions. Fouché "was not a noble; Talleyrand was not an emi- "grant; Augereau and Marmont were neither. "To conclude, do you desire a final proof of the "injustice of blaming whole classes, when a re- "volution like ours has operated in the midst of "them? Reckon yourselves here: among four, "you find two nobles, one of whom was even "an emigrant. The excellent M. de Ségur, in "spite of his age, at my departure, offered to "follow me. I could multiply examples with- "out end.—It is with as little reason," he continued, "that I have been blamed for having "neglected certain persons of influence; I was "too powerful not to despise with impunity the

" intrigues, and the known immorality of the " greater part of them. Neither had that any " thing to do with my downfall; but only un- " foreseen and unheard-of catastrophes; compul- " sory circumstances; 500,000 men at the gates " of the capital; a revolution still recent; a crisis " too powerful for French heads; and above all, " a dynasty not sufficiently ancient. I would " have risen again even from the foot of the Pyre- " nees, could I but have been my own grand- " son.

" And, moreover, what a fascination there is " respecting past times! It is most certain that " I was chosen by the French; their new worship " was their own work. Well! immediately upon " the return of their old forms, see with what " facility they have recurred to idols!

" And, after all, how could another line of " policy have prevented that which ruined me? " I have been betrayed by M . . . . . , whom I " might call my son, my offspring, my own " work; he to whom I had committed my desti- " nies, by sending him to Paris, at the very " moment that he was putting the finishing hand " to his treason and my ruin. I have been be- " trayed by Murat, whom I had raised from a " soldier to a king; who was my sister's husband. " I have been betrayed by Berthier, a mere goose, " whom I had converted into a kind of eagle. I " have been betrayed in the senate, by those very

" men of the national party who owe every thing to " me. All that, then, did not in any way depend " upon my system of internal policy. Undoubt- " edly I should have been exposed to the charge " of too readily employing old enemies, whether " nobles or emigrants, if a Macdonald, a Valence*, " a Montesquiou had betrayed me; but they " were faithful: let them object to me the stu- " pidity of Murat, I can oppose to it the judg- " ment of Marmont. I have, then, no cause to " repent of my interior system of policy," &c. &c.

Chance of danger in battle, &c.—The Bulletins very correct.

28th.—The Emperor during dinner was speaking of the probability of danger in the China vessels, of which one in thirty perished, according to the accounts he had received from some captains. This led him to the chances of danger in battle, which he said were less than that. Wagram was pointed out to him as a destructive battle; he did not estimate the killed at more than 3,000, which was only a fiftieth: we were there 160,000.

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* One day at Longwood running over the list of the senators who had signed the deposition, one of us pointed out the name of M. de Valence, signed as secretary. But another explained that this signature was false, that M. de Valence had complained of it, and protested against it. " It is very true," said the Emperor, " I know it; he has behaved well; Valence was true to the " Nation."

At Essling they were about 4,000, we were 40,000: this was a tenth; but it was one of the most severe battles. The others were incomparably below.

This brought on a conversation on the bulletins. The Emperor declared them to be very correct; assured us, that, excepting what the proximity of the enemy compelled him to disguise, that when they came into their hands they might not derive any information prejudicial to him from them, all the remainder was very exact. At Vienna and throughout Germany they did them more justice than among us. If they had acquired an ill reputation in our armies—if it was a common saying, *as false as a bulletin*, it was personal rivalships, party spirit, that had established it; it was the wounded self-love of those whom it had been forgotten to mention in them, and who had, or fancied they had, a right to a place there: and still more than all, our ridiculous national defect of having no greater enemies to our successes and our glory, than we ourselves were.

The Emperor after dinner played some games at chess. The day had been very rainy; he was unwell, and retired early.

Unhealthiness of the Island.

29th.—The weather was still bad; it was impossible to set foot out of doors. The rain and

the damp invaded our pasteboard apartments. Every one of us suffered in his health in consequence. The temperature here is certainly mild, but the climate is among the most unwholesome. It is a thing ascertained in the island, that few there attain the age of fifty; hardly any that of sixty. Add to this, exclusion from the rest of the world, physical privations, bad moral treatment, it will result, that prisons in Europe are far preferable to liberty in Saint-Helena.

About four o'clock several Captains from China were brought to me, who were to be presented to the Emperor. They had an opportunity of seeing the smallness, the dampness, and bad state of my habitation. They enquired how the Emperor found himself in point of health. It declined visibly, I told them. Never do we hear a complaint from him: his great soul suffered nothing to overcome it, and even contributed to deceive him with respect to his own state; but we could see him decay very perceptibly. I led them shortly after to the Emperor, who was walking in the garden. He seemed to me at that moment more disordered than usual. He dismissed them in half an hour. He went in again, and took a bath

Before and after dinner he seemed in low spirits and in pain. He began to read to us *Les Femmes Savantes;* but at the second act, he handed the

book to the Grand Marshal, and dozed upon the sofa during the reading of the remainder.

Remarks of the Emperor on his Expedition in the East.

30th—31st. This day the weather has continued very bad; we all suffered from it; besides, we are absolutely infested with rats, fleas, and bugs: our sleep is disturbed by them, so that the troubles by night are in perfect harmony with those by day.

The weather changed entirely to fair on the 31st; we went out in the carriage. The Emperor, in the course of conversation, observed, speaking of Egypt and Syria, that if he had taken Saint-Jean-d'Acre, as ought to have been the case, he would have wrought a revolution in the East. "The most trivial circumstances," said he, "lead to the greatest events. "The weakness of the captain of a frigate, who "stood out to sea instead of forcing a passage "into the harbour, some trifling impediments "with respect to some shallops or light vessels, "prevented the face of the world from being "changed. Possessed of Saint-Jean-d'Acre, the "French army would fly to Damascus and Aleppo; in a twinkling it would have been on the "Euphrates; the Christians of Syria, the Druses, "the Christians of Armenia, would have joined it: "nations were on the point of being shaken."

One of us having said that they would have presently been reinforced with 400,000 men. "Say "600,000," replied the Emperor; "who can "calculate what it might have been? I should "have reached Constantinople and the Indies; "I should have changed the face of the world."

SUMMARY OF THE LAST NINE MONTHS.

Nine months have already elapsed from the commencement of my Journal; and I fear, that, amid the heterogeneous matters that succeed without order in it, I may have often lost sight of my principal, my only object—that which concerns Napoleon, and may serve to characterize him. It is to make up for this, where necessary, that I here attempt a summary in a few words; a summary which I propose moreover, on the same account, to repeat, in future, at intervals of three months.

On quitting France, we remained for a month at the disposal of the brutal and ferocious English Ministry; then our passage to Saint-Helena occupied three months.

On our landing we occupied Briars nearly two months.

Lastly, we have been three months at Longwood.

Now, these nine months would have formed four very distinct epochs, with one who had taken the pains to observe Napoleon.

All the time of our stay at Plymouth, Napoleon remained thoughtful, and merely passive,

exerting no power but patience. His misfortunes were so great, and so incapable of remedy, that he suffered events to take their course with a stoical indifference.

During the whole of our passage, he constantly possessed a perfect equanimity, and, above all, the most complete indifference; he expressed no wish, shewed no disappointment. It is true, the greatest respect was paid him; he received it without perceiving it; he spoke little, and the subject was always foreign to himself. Any one who, coming suddenly on board, had witnessed his conversation, would undoubtedly have been far from guessing with whom they were in company: it was not the Emperor. I cannot better picture him in this circumstance, than by comparing him to those passengers of high distinction, who are conveyed with great respect to their destination.

Our abode at Briars presented another shade of difference. Napoleon, left almost entirely to himself, receiving nobody, constantly employed, seeming to forget events and men, enjoyed, apparently, the calm and the peace of a profound solitude; either from abstraction or contempt, not condescending to notice the inconveniences or privations with which he was surrounded; if he now and then dropped an expression relative to them, it was only when roused by the importunity of some Englishman, or excited by the recital of the

outrages his attendants suffered. His whole day was occupied in dictation; the rest of the time dedicated to the relaxation of familiar conversation. He never mentioned the affairs of Europe; spoke rarely of the Empire, very little of the Consulate; but much of his situation as General in Italy; still more, and almost constantly, of the minutest details of his childhood and his early youth. The latter subjects, especially, seemed at this time to have a peculiar charm with him. One would have said that they afforded him a perfect oblivion; they excited him even to gaiety. It was almost exclusively with these objects that he employed the many hours of his nightly walks by moonlight.

Finally, our establishment at Longwood was a fourth and last change. All our situations hitherto had been but short and transitory. This was fixed, and threatened to be lasting. There, in reality, were to commence our exile and our new destinies. History will take them up there; there the eyes of the world were to be directed to consider us. The Emperor, seeming to make this calculation, regulates all about him, and takes the attitude of dignity oppressed by power; he traces around him a moral boundary, behind which he defends himself inch by inch against indignity and insult; he no longer compromises any thing with his persecutors; he shews himself sensibly jealous in respect to forms, and hostile

to all encroachment. The English never doubted that habit would, in the end, produce formality. The Emperor brings them to it from the first day, and the most profound respect is manifested.

It was no small surprise to us, nor a slight satisfaction, to have to observe among ourselves, that, without knowing how or why, it was nevertheless perceptible that the Emperor now stood higher in the opinion and the respect of the English, than he had hitherto done; we could even perceive that this sentiment was every day increasing. With us the Emperor entered fully into an examination of the affairs of Europe. He analyzed the projects and the conduct of the Sovereigns; he compared them with his own; weighed, separated, spoke of his reign, of his deeds; in a word, we once more found the Emperor, and *all* Napoleon. Not that he had ever ceased to be so for an instant, as regarded our devotion and our attentions; nor that we, on our side, had any thing to endure.

Never did we experience a more even temper, a more constant kindness, a more unaltered affection. It was, in fact, among us, and in the most familiar manner, that he concerted his attacks upon the common enemy; and those which appear the most vigorous, and seem to be dictated by anger, so far from it, were almost always accompanied with some laughter or pleasantry.

The Emperor's health, during the six months

preceding our establishment at Longwood, did not seem to undergo any change; notwithstanding his regimen was so completely altered. His hours, his food, were no longer the same; his habits were completely deranged. Though accustomed to so much exercise, he had been confined all this time to a room. Bathing had become a part of his existence, and he was constantly deprived it, &c. It was not till after his arrival at Longwood, and when he was again supplied with some of these things, when he rode on horseback, and returned to the use of the bath, that we began to perceive a sensible alteration.

It is a singular circumstance, that so long as he was ill situated, he suffered nothing; it was not till he was better that he was seen to be in pain. May it not be that, in moral as in physical order, there is often a long interval between causes and their effects.

INDEX

TO THE

SECOND PART OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

ALEXANDER, (*Emperor of Russia.*) His portrait, 300.

AUSTRIA, (*Empress of.*) Paid particular attention to Napoleon at Dresden. Endeavoured clandestinely to withdraw the attentions of Maria Louisa from him.—Her portrait.—She would have made a pretty nun, according to Napoleon, 299.

AUSTRIANS. Marengo the battle in which they behaved best, 143.

BARBARY, people of, Napoleon's flag at Elba respected by them.—Made presents to the Elbese captains, saying they were paying the debt incurred at Moscow.—Did not make war against Heaven, 244.

BERNARDIN DE-ST.-PIERRE. Napoleon's remarks on Paul and Virginia.—Anecdotes of the author of that work, 137.

BESSIERES, (*Marshal.*) Portrait of, 149.

CALONNE, (*M. de.*) Waits on the First Consul, and endeavours to get into the ministry again, 131.

CADASTRE. The Emperor called it the true guarantee of property, and the security of independence for every one, 259.

CARICATURES of Napoleon, &c. 234. 246.

CATILINE. The Emperor did not comprehend his conspiracy. Thought it was most likely some new faction similar to those of Marius and Sylla, 333.

CHARLES XII. King of Sweden, assassinated by his followers, 137.

CHINA. Treatment of Europeans at Canton.—Character of the Chinese, 266.

CLAUSEL, (*General.*) The Emperor includes him among those whom he intended to have been his new marshals, 10.

COCKBURN, (*The English Admiral.*) His conduct at Saint-Helena, 57.—His answer to the complaints made to him, 59.—Sends the Emperor his fowling-pieces, 92.—Consents to the Emperor's traversing the whole Island without escort, 104.—Breaks his agreement, 105.—Declares he would not accept a letter of Napoleon's for the Prince of Wales, unless open, 319.

CONSTANT, (*Benjamin.*) His conversation with Napoleon on the return of the latter from the Isle of Elba, 315.

CORBINEAU, (*General.*) The Emperor much affected by the circumstances of his death, 145.

CORNEILLE. The Emperor particularly admires this poet, 249.—Said that France owed to Corneille many of her finest actions;

and, had he lived in his time, the Emperor would have made him a prince, 250.

Corvisart, (*The physician.*) Had often been attacked by the Emperor; was an enemy to medicines; the Emperor brought him to confess that medicine was a privileged resource, a benefit to the rich, a scourge to the poor, 288.

Domestic Establishment of the Emperor at St. Helena, how composed, 32.—Names of the individuals, 33.

Drouot, (*General.*) Expressions of the Emperor on the subject of his trial, 342.

Duroc, (*Grand Marshal of the Palace.*) Portrait of him by the Emperor; particulars of his death, 146.—On his character &c., 147.

England. Particulars of the Invasion projected by Napoleon. The weakness of Villeneuve prevents its execution, 261.

Egypt. Scheme of turning the course of the Nile to make a desert of Egypt, and making the Cape of Good Hope the only route to India, 231.

Ferdinand VII., (*King of Spain.*) Particulars of his real situation at Valencey, 11. In vain he may grasp his sceptre in a passion, said the Emperor, one of these mornings it will slip through his fingers like an eel, 228.

Foy, (*General.*) The Emperor includes him in the number of his intended new marshals, 10.

French. The Emperor says they are railers and turbulent, but not conspirators, 293.

Gerard, (*General.*) The Emperor includes him in the number of his intended new marshals, 10.

Gourgaud, (*General.*) His affection for his mother and sister, 65.

Gracchi. Napoleon's doubts on their history—Reflections, 334.

Guibert, (*Aide-de-Camp to Napoleon.*) The Emperor much affected by the circumstances of his death, 145.

History, (*Ancient.*) Reflections of Napoleon on Scipio, Cæsar, Alexander, &c. 337.

Historians, (*French.*) Observations of the Emperor on those who have written on Ancient History, 139.—On those who have written French History, 140.—Anecdotes, 141.

India. Remarks on its government, laws, and manners. Hyder Aly; Tippoo Saib, 129.

Kleber, (*General.*) Only a man of the moment. Sought glory only as the means of enjoyment, 9.

Lamarque, (*General.*) The Emperor includes him in the number of his intended new marshals, 10.

Lannes, (*Marshal, Duke of Montebello.*) The Emperor said he found him a pigmy, and lost him a giant, 9.—Remarks of Napoleon, 145.—When he was distinguished by the Emperor, 193.

Las Cases, (*Count*). Conversation with an Englishman, 69.—Receives from Napoleon the spurs he wore at Dresden and Champaubert, 111.—Gives the Emperor his first lesson in English, 124.—Trick played him by Napoleon, 284.—Political self-examination, 349.

Legion of Honour, (*Order of the*). The Emperor estimates the badges he had distributed at 25,000, and says, the desire of obtaining them kept constantly increasing. Sends the Archduke Charles, after the Campaign of Wagram, the private soldier's cross, 271.

Libels. Secret History of the Cabinet of Bonaparte, by Goldsmith, 117. The Emperor laughs at the falsehoods therein, 120.

Longwood. The Emperor's habitation, described, 28.

Maria Louisa, (*the Empress.*) Her affection for the Emperor. At Dresden she seldom went out, that she might enjoy her husband's company in his shortest intervals of leisure, 298.—Jealousy of her step-mother, 299.—Boasted of being able to obtain any thing of Napoleon by tears, 302.—Her accouchement and danger, 330.—Her fear of being sacrificed, 332.

Marchand, (*the Emperor's principal valet de chambre.*) Always slept on a mattress at the door of the Emperor's room, 110.

Massena, (*Marshal.*) Described by the Emperor as a truly superior genius, 10.—Fulfilled his duty to the last moment, 344.

Medicine. Diseases. Astonishment of Mr. Warden at the Emperor's attainments, 286.—His maxims; wished to limit the use of *heroic* remedies to a certain class of practitioners, 287.—Said, of the plague, that the greatest danger lay in apprehension—the best remedy was courage, 290.—Observations on medicinal practice at Babylon, 291.

Memorial of Saint Helena. Spirit thereof, 237.

Ministries of Finance and of the Treasury, 258.—Their separation of the utmost importance, 258.—The Minister of the Treasury the true comptroller of the empire, 259.

Montenotte, (*Battle of.*) Chapter of the Campaign of Italy, dictated by the Emperor, 182.

Moreau (*General*). The Emperor's opinion of him.—Had more instinct than genius, 9.

Murat (*King of Naples*). The Emperor's opinion of him, 8.—His origin, 17.—A material cause of the misfortunes of France in 1814, 223.—Becomes so a second time in 1815, by attacking the Austrians in express opposition to the intentions of Napoleon, 224.—The Emperor would have had him with him at Waterloo.—How prevented.—Said he might have turned the scale of victory, 225.—Parallel of his landing with that of Napoleon, 226.

Napoleon. His danger in the campaign of Italy induces him to establish the corps of Guides, 1.—Is on the point of falling

into Wurmser's hands, 2.—His mode of warfare disconcerts every body;—Remark of a tall German officer, 3.—Affecting anecdote of a dog, 3.—Says that the fate of a battle depends on a spark, an instant, 6.—What he required in a general, 7. —Strength of mind necessary for conducting a great battle, 8.—His opinion on several generals, 9.—A young English Lieutenant presented to him; Singular circumstance, 16.— His removal to Longwood, 23.—His first bath, 26.—Regulates his household, 32.—Valuable qualities, 35.—His habits at Longwood, 46.—His manner of addressing the two Empresses, 48.—His maxims on police, 50.—On that relating to the post-office, 52.—On the liberty of the press; Liberal ideas, 55.—First ride on horseback, 56.—Remark on the Admiral, 59.—Napoleon's contempt for popularity, 60.— His system of government, 61.—Was often wounded in his battles; concealed it carefully, 67.—Had nearly sunk in a bog at St. Helena, 82.—Never suffered the libels against him to be refuted, 85.—Poison of Mithridates, 87.—Napoleon ploughs a furrow, 87.—The widow's mite, 88.—Does not hate the Admiral, 89.—His life at Longwood; his rides on horseback, 96.—The Nymph; gave nicknames, 102.—On the strongest fortress, 99.—On imagination, 103.—Vexations from the Admiral, 103.—Napoleon aimed at by an English soldier at St.-Helena, 113.—Laughed contemptuously at the libels against him, 120.—Learns English, 122.—Said all his intentions respecting the universities had been frustrated, 123.—First English lesson, 124.——Conversation on the army, 126.—Chemistry, 127.—Politics, India, &c. 128.—Says *impossible* is not French, 142.—His danger at Eylau, 142.—At Jena, 143.—Mired horse at St.-Helena, 157.—Domestic solicitude, 158.—Origin of his acquaintance with Josephine, 179.—Learns the death of Murat, 222.—No comparison between his enterprise and that of Murat, 225.— Remarks on the state of France and Europe in 1816, 238.— Describes domestic happiness, 240.—To be banished from one's paternal roof is to have no country, 241.—Works which he instituted at Elba, 243.—His flag respected by all powers, 244.—The Isle of Elba compared with St.-Helena, 244.— The Campaign of Italy destined to bear the name of Las Cases; that of Egypt, Bertrand's; and to make their fortunes and establish their fame, 248.—Contractors and money-lenders the scourge of a nation, 256.—At his return from Elba, houses in Amsterdam and London opened a credit of from 80 to 400 millions with him; his talents much esteemed by accountants and official men, 257. —Special appropriations the happiest springs of his administration; he had created the purest and most energetic go-

vernment in Europe, 259.—Could trace the history of the finances of his reign with the help of the *Moniteurs* alone, 260.—Water, air, and fire, had been the only enemies of an universal regeneration, 264.—Difficulty of creating a court, 268.—He had made that of the Tuileries the most brilliant in the world; always preserved extreme plainness himself, 269.—Restored levees and couchées; special presentations; titles; decorations, 270.—Anecdote of Tarare, 272.—Formed his household indiscriminately of persons elevated and ruined by the Revolution, by which he extinguished discord and amalgamated parties, 273.—The officers of his household treated as princes in foreign courts; his mansions contained furniture to the value of 40 millions, and plate to the value of 4 millions, 275.—Thought of establishing the *grand couvert*; reasons for and against it, 277.—His favourite idea was that of making perpetual tours in the departments, after peace should be obtained, 280.—Had no faith in medicine, 286.—Thought of prohibiting *heroic* remedies, 287.—Often attacked Corvisart, 288.—Defines folly; the difference between sleep and death, 289.—Medical practice at Babylon, 291.—His carriage taken at Waterloo, 295.—Zeal of his servants, 296.—Interview at Dresden; period of his greatest power; he appeared the king of kings; loaded with diamonds all who approached him; had no guard but the Saxon body-guards, 297.—His friendly expressions relating to the King of Saxony and the Princess Augusta, 298.—His ideas on the Russian power, 300.—On Constantinople; thought of liberating Greece, 301.—Never observed ill-humour in either of his wives, 302.—His ideas and schemes for the happiness of France, 304.—All he possessed was poured forth when the nation was distressed; he remained destitute on his rock, 310.—His conversation with M. Benjamin Constant in 1815, 314.—Enquires of the admiral whether a letter from him to the Prince Regent would be forwarded, 318.—His name never pronounced at the Isle of France without emotion, 324.—Puns, 326.—Boasted of having been as good a husband to the Empress, at her labour, as any in the world; encouraged Dubois the accoucheur, 330.—Told him to act as he would if he had been attending the birth of a cobbler's son, 331.—Often slept during a battle, 337.—Said this was advantageous, 338.—Several of his comrades in the artillery, 345.—Thought his name unknown to some people in Paris, 347.—It was not so in any country; China not excepted, 348.—Political self-examination, 349.—Never applied to leaders, in order to gain over parties, but attacked the mass of parties to overthrow leaders, 355.—Had not been wrong in employing nobles and emigrants; those really to blame

were the intriguers of all parties, 356.—Would have recovered, even from the foot of the Pyrennees, had he been his own grandson; betrayed by those who owed every thing to him, 357.—Veracity of the bulletins, 359.—Had he carried St. Jean d'Acre, he would have effected a revolution in the East, and changed the face of the world, 361.

NECKER, *(M. de)*. Insinuates to the First Consul a wish of re-entering the Administration.—Writes that France could never more be either a republic or a monarchy.—Napoleon causes the Consul Lebrun to refute him, 131.

NEY, *(Marshal)*. The Emperor's opinion of him, 8.—Examination of his defence, 19.—Had quitted Paris entirely devoted to the King, 20.—Compared with Turenne, 21.—Remarks of Napoleon on his trial, 321.

PARIS. The Emperor wished to make it the capital of the world, 281.

PAULINE, *(Princess Borghese)*. The artists agreed in making a Venus de Medicis of her—At Elba had drawn from General Drouot the secret of the intended departure—At Nice had set up a post-waggon, which came from Paris daily, loaded with dresses, 303.

PEOPLE, *(The)*. Maxims of Napoleon on the mode of rendering them happy, 61.

PIUS VII. The Emperor never ordered him to be removed from Rome, or carried to France, 12.

PIONTKOWSKI, *(a Polish officer)*. His arrival at Saint-Helena, 90.

PLANAT, *(an Officer)*. The Emperor regrets him, 101.

POLICE. The Emperor's maxims, 50.—What he did to raise it in the eyes of the people, 51.—That of the Post-office, 52.

PRADT, *(Abbé de)*. Portrait of Napoleon, in the Embassy to Warsaw, 38.—Refuted, 39.—Defends Napoleon when designated by the Sovereigns as the representative of the Revolution, 41.

PRUSSIA, *(The Queen of)*. Rumour in the Parisian saloons at the time of the Treaty of Tilsit, 49.

PRUSSIA, *(The King of)*. His portrait, 300.

PRUSSIAN Army. Remarks of the Emperor thereon, 143.

RACINE. The Emperor delighted with his poetry, 249.—Critique on Britannicus, 329.

RECAMIER, *(Madame.)* Causes of her dislike of the First Consul, 254.

ROME. The Emperor proposed to clear it of its rubbish, and to restore the city, 327.

ROUSSEAU, *(J. J.)*. Napoleon's remarks on Nouvelle Heloise, 12.

RUSSIAN Army. Observations of Napoleon thereon, 143.

SAILORS, *(English)*. The Emperor often receives unequivocal proofs of their good-will and enthusiasm.—Anecdotes, 101.

SAINT HELENA. Its Cultivation; Legislation; Population, 100.—

Its panegyric by the Emperor; affords few resources, 216—It is said the Prisoners cause a famine there, 217.

Saxony *(Princess Augusta of)*. Napoleon's great regard for this family.—He deeply regrets having prevented the marriage of the Princess Augusta with the Emperor of Austria, 297.

Segur *(Count)*. Offered to follow the Emperor to St. Helena, 356.

Sevigné *(Madame de)*. Napoleon's remarks on, 137.

Soult *(Marshal)*. Observations of the Emperor, who thought the marshal was put on his trial, and said he might be condemned though very innocent, 343.

Spain. Remarks of Napoleon on Porlier's enterprise, 227.

Stael *(Madame de)*. The Emperor's opinion on her Delphine—Her advances to the young General of the Army of Italy—Her Letters—Anecdotes, 130.

Suchet *(Marshal Duke of Albufera)*. His genius and character wonderfully improved, 10.

Steingel *(General)*. His death and character, 196.

Talma. Napoleon partial to him—Appreciated his great talents—Criticized several of his performances, 252.

Tragedies *(Modern)*. The Emperor called *Hector* a play for Head-quarters, declaring that one would advance to meet the enemy with more ardour after hearing it, 249—Censured the *Etats de Blois* as a bad, dangerous tragedy, 250.

Turenne. Comparison of his conduct in 1649, with that of Ney, 21.

Valence *(General)*. Was always national, as the Emperor said, at St. Helena, 335.

Vendemiaire. Proceedings of the 13th of Vendemiaire—a Chapter of the Campaign of Italy, dictated by the Emperor, 161.

Villele *(De)*. His assertion on the progress of Agriculture during the Empire, 358.

War. The Emperor said its systems frequently changed, 339.—Means adopted in the defence of Vienna and Dresden, and projected in 1815 for that of Paris, 340.

Wilks *(Colonel, Governor of St. Helena, under the East India Company)*. His character, 94—Interesting conversation with the Emperor, 126.

Women. The Emperor said nothing is so great a proof of their being well educated, as equanimity, 302.—That the French women had given illustrious proofs of their noble sentiments, 322.

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